

Big turnout expected for Student Mobe parley

—Story page 4

THE MILITANT

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Police muscle dominates court as New York Panther trial opens

—Report from courtroom page 5



Outside the court freedom for Panthers is demanded

Photo by Michael Hardy

Junior high student teaches class

Exposes students to revolutionary ideas

Colorado Springs, Colo.

This Friday I will take over my history class because my history teacher says that if I want to turn his class into a political forum I'd damn well better start teaching my own course. When I asked how I could do that he said I could teach his. He was surprised when I told him I would teach and my subject would be "The Principles of Communism and Some Popular Misconceptions." An editorial in the school newspaper by myself entitled, "Revolution in America? Never? Why and Why not," will come out Wednesday.

I have been elected student council representative in the ninth grade and am asking for student participation in school affairs (curriculum, discipline, etc.).

Venceremos!

J. C. B.

An appeal from LNS

New York, N. Y.

From time to time, you may have noticed the credit "Liberation News Service" or "LNS" on articles or photos or drawings in this paper. Liberation News Service sends out two packets of written and graphic materials two times each week to about 500 subscribing newspapers and magazines. We are now in the midst of a serious financial crisis.

While we have appealed to our subscribers for help, we can easily understand that most of them face their own budgetary hassles. May we appeal directly to you, the readers of the radical and underground press? Please send your contributions to Liberation News Service, 160 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027. Thank you very much.

Love and struggle.

The LNS Staff

Freedom and Peace Party holds 'rally'

New York, N. Y.

The Freedom and Peace Party, in which the Communist Party plays a large role, held its "kick-off rally" for the 1970 election campaign at the Diplomat Hotel on Jan. 26. No more than 30 people attended the "rally."

Instead of announcing one or more candidates to run in this year's election, the Freedom and Peace Party held a soul-session on why the party has disintegrated.

A dispute took place in regard to whether or not the party could run any candidates at all. Both sides agreed that the F & P party could not, by itself, muster up enough strength and energy to run a candidate. Some felt, however, that if an "electoral coalition" were built around the F&P "program" (what this is was never gone into) they would be

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

able to run a candidate or two. Others felt that there wasn't even enough strength to do that, and that what little energy was left among the ranks should be spent in "community organizing."

Nothing was mentioned about building the independent antiwar movement by supporting mass antiwar actions in the spring, Black and Puerto Rican control of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, or building the movement for women's liberation and, in particular, the anti-abortion law demonstration slated for March 21.

T. H.

Dogmatism and the SMC conference

Carbondale, Ill.

As the National Student Antiwar Conference approaches, it seems necessary to examine our presuppositions and attitudes so that the conference and all future such meetings will be more effective and constructive.

It seems that many antiwar activists and pacifists, whether organized or not, are carrying some stubborn attitudes about ending the war. Many activists, myself included, will enter a conference or meeting with definite set ideas on the means to end the war in Vietnam. This is good, but it can go too far. Many SDSers and Young Socialists have become rather dogmatic in their theoretical and practical beliefs. It's great to hold solid convictions and means to get those aims, but too often we will become inflexible and stubborn. This is bad politics and a poor way to get a revolution or end the war. I think we are all guilty of being too rigid in thinking and unwilling to bend with the radical majority. Too often, I have seen whole meetings thoroughly wasted because no one would budge on even trivial issues. Let's not let this happen again. We cannot let our presuppositions that "my method is the best plan" destroy chances for constructive progress. This does NOT mean we shouldn't have any ideas of our own or try to defend them. We should definitely defend our ideas and goals, but not to the expense of wasting a great deal of time, effort and sweat of the radical majority.

Immediately someone will object,

"any true radical will not sway to the majority of *any* group." This is a fallacious misconception. A radical is not defined by his stubbornness to resist the group but by his ideas he holds. A radical who truly wishes to end the war NOW or end imperialism, should do everything he can to help the cause, *even if he does not agree with every particular method of achieving that goal.* In some cases, when the division is too great, a split is necessary. But every attempt should be made to keep the conference whole and united. The fascists and right-wingers love to see the radicals divided and confused. They thrive on it. The more split up an organization is, the less effective it is. The pigs and fascists were happy to see SDS break up. You know the motto: divide and conquer. Let's NOT let it happen again!

All power to the people! Support the NLF!

M. M.

From a Puerto Rican reader

Chesapeake, Va.

I have just received your Jan. 23 issue, and I must congratulate you on the coverage of the political prisoners in Mexico. Being a Puerto Rican I especially feel close to these Latin American brothers of mine, and it was through *The Militant* that I found out about these heartless barbarities. You will never find what really happened in that infamous Mexican slaughterhouse called a prison in the establishment press.

The wall posters on the front cover were exceptional. I wonder if you could inform me as to where I could obtain copies of them. May revolutionary justice be done! Viva la libertad!

D. V.

[These posters are available from the U. S. L. A. Justice Committee, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001. The posters cost 60 cents each, or \$4.00 for an assortment of ten. — *Editor*]

GE articles excellent

Eugene, Ore.

Your articles on GE and the J.P. Morgan empire were excellent. For quite some time I've read about the super-corporations and the ruling class, but could never find any facts and figures. And now after having read them, the reasons why this country is a fantastic, racist war machine are more clear — and more frightening. My hopes for nonviolent social change are rapidly being dashed. Perhaps it's beyond the time people quit playing games with themselves.

D. H.

The McCall's cover

Austin, Texas

The *Militant* was quite correct in printing the Christmas cover of McCall's magazine as a good example of how "the mass media degrades women

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and portrays them as sexual objects." Tom Hanna, in a letter published in the Jan. 16 issue, wrote that the cover "depicts only a child with flowers in her hair. It suggests that Christmas is for children."

Only a being from another planet could miss the reeking sensuality of that McCall cover! The child was deliberately posed nude in an extremely suggestive pose usually reserved for a Hollywood starlet. The McCall cover designers used a clever psychological trick to attract attention to the magazine; the fact that the little girl was coyly hiding a non-existent bosom made her pose even sexier than if she were endowed with breasts like Raquel Welch. The sexual exploitation of this child was truly a repulsive example of what women's liberation objects to in mass media advertising.

What about the contradiction Hanna sees between "sex object" and "sex as a commodity?" It doesn't exist. Except in a limited number of cases, sex is really not a commodity in the classical sense but it is treated very much like a commodity.

This means that people are treated very much like commodities in their sex relations with one another. To be a sex object is to be viewed as a tool to satisfy the needs of another human being; it means you are not considered as a human being yourself with feelings, needs, etc. of your own but as a thing to be bought with sweet words, marriage, a date, etc. To quote from *Capital*: "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another." In addition, commodities are "the material depositories of exchange value."

The "commodity psychology" which pervades capitalist society has produced human relationships in which people are treated like things, like objects with utility. To be treated like an object is indeed a problem. It is a problem in human relations today that males are sex objects to females and vice versa.

Evelyn Sell

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Statement by Prof. Starsky

The following statement was issued Feb. 1 by Professor Morris Starsky of Arizona State University in response to the decision of the Arizona Board of Regents' decision not to move against him for his political beliefs as demanded by right-wingers.

* * *

The action of the Arizona State Board of Regents yesterday was a great victory for fundamental democratic rights and the integrity of the university. In not taking action against me, the Regents reaffirmed two fundamental principles of American democracy: the right of a socialist to teach and to advocate socialism at a state university, and the right of a professor to have his contractual fidelity judged by his colleagues and students rather than by the Regents. The action of the Regents, however, was not motivated simply by their commitment to these abstract principles. There are voices in Arizona and around the nation other than those who would silence dissent by intimidating professors and students. These voices made themselves heard last week.

I want to thank the many professors and other concerned citizens who sent letters and telegrams to the Regents in support of the principles stated above. I particularly want to thank the Arizona Civil Liberties Union and the Arizona State University chapter of the American Association of University Professors for their firm stand on free speech and academic due process.

When politicians and editorial writers attempt to put limits on the rights that we all enjoy by attempting to deprive some of us of those rights, then public pressure must be brought to bear on those in authority. Public pressure was brought on the Regents not to exceed the limits of their authority and they responded.

It is unfortunate, however, that the Regents felt it necessary to perpetuate the mythical distinction between speaking or writing as a private citizen and doing so as a faculty member. The motivation for such a distinction is precisely to limit the speech and writing of a professor to what is "in the best interests of the university and his profession." Universities have no interests over and above those of the people that they serve.

Thus, the first question we must ask is: Who does the university serve? For the philosopher, this question leads to another: Who ought the university serve? It has been my contention for several years that the university ought to serve the working class, the poor, the oppressed national minorities in this country as well as the oppressed peoples of the world. It ought not serve the interests of those who own all the wealth in this country.

My activities are clearly in the best interests of those whom the university ought to serve. They are also in the best interests of my profession. Philosophy as a profession has no interests to be served other than truth and justice. If, in the judgement of a philosopher, these happen to coincide with the outlook and interests of a particular class then he must speak and act in the interests of that class.

In any event, I am confident that the administration of Arizona State University will respect the judgement of my colleagues and consider the matter of the cancelled class closed.

Arizona socialist prof winner in ouster fight



PHOENIX, Ariz. — A significant victory was scored for civil liberties here when the Arizona State Board of Regents declined to meet the demand of right-wingers to fire Prof. Morris Starsky, an active socialist, from the faculty of Arizona State University.

The decision of the regents not to dismiss Starsky, as demanded by members of the State Legislature and others, was clearly influenced by a vigorous civil liberties campaign in Starsky's behalf. An ad hoc Committee to Defend Prof. Starsky's Right to Teach at ASU won the clear-cut support of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union, the Arizona State University chapter of the American Association of University Professors, a number of well-known philosophers, and individuals and groups here and around the country.

Prof. Starsky's teaching position in the philosophy department of ASU was placed on the agenda of the regents' meeting when some state legislators demanded that he be dismissed for canceling a class on Jan. 14 in order to speak to an antiracist student rally at the University of Arizona in Tucson. One legislator threatened to vote against the university's appropriation unless the regents fired Prof. Starsky.

The legislators involved in the attempted purge made no attempt to hide the fact that what they really wanted was to get rid of Prof. Starsky because of his political beliefs and activities. Prof. Starsky adheres to Trotskyist views and has been actively in-

involved in the antiwar movement and campus struggles, and in supporting socialist candidates.

At their meeting on Jan. 31 the regents formally sent the matter of Prof. Starsky's class cancellation to the ASU administration for investigation and recommendation. The president of the university has asked the chairman of the Faculty Assembly to form an ad hoc committee whose responsibility it will be to determine whether any further disciplinary action should be taken against Prof. Starsky. The dean of the College of Liberal Arts has already formally reprimanded Prof. Starsky for canceling the class.

There is some question about the motivation about appointing an ad hoc committee rather than turning the matter over to the Standing Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. Most observers, however, believe that the faculty committee will recommend that no further action be taken. The president could disregard this recommendation, but only on pain of AAUP censure and loss of accreditation.

At this writing the makeup of the committee is not known. Supporters of Prof. Starsky are urging all those interested in the right of professors to play an active role in the political struggles of our time to write to Prof. Wallace Adams, Faculty Assembly chairman, History Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85251.

Indiana U administrators seek to curb dissidents

By MARILYN VOGT and
DAVID ZIELINSKY

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — A campaign of suppression is being waged against student radicals at Indiana University — partially because of the massive student boycott against Indiana University last spring in protest over a tuition increase.

On Jan. 15, the last session of official hearings was held concerning the dismissal of Teaching Assistant Joel Allen for alleged "professional misconduct." Allen, a leader of the local SDS in the fall, is actually being tried for his political activities last spring and during the October Moratorium. Some of the charges which constitute "professional misconduct" are: "failing to disavow the pie-throwing incident," "using offensive language in reference to a trustee in public, being a leader of a large group of students that overran the ROTC building, disrupting an antiwar teach-in, and carrying an enemy (NLF) flag."

As evidence of the ludicrousness of these charges: "failing to disavow the pie-throwing incident" concerns Allen's plea at an Oct. 14 rally that students march to the jail and bail out Jim

Retherford, a student who had allegedly thrown a pie in Clark Kerr's face during a meeting at which Kerr spoke. The students answered the plea, marched to the jail and bailed Retherford out. The "using offensive language in reference to a trustee in public" charge centers on Allen's perhaps injudicious application of the term "honky motherfucker" in reference to IU Trustee Carl Gray. Gray, who was going to address some students who had gathered for an open meeting with the Board of Trustees, overheard Allen's comment. Because the students were rather hostile to the two trustees present, asking pointed questions about the trustees' economic holdings, and because the meeting ended with the trustees stomping off stage amid militant antiwar chants, it appears as though Allen's comment is being used by the administration to victimize Allen in retaliation against the hostile attitudes expressed by the students.

Chancellor Byrum Carter took the stand during the hearings concerning these charges and stated candidly that it was not so much Allen's individual acts that mattered as the fact that Allen was associated with the activities which have a negative "cumulative effect."

On Jan. 21, Allen was among four students who were arbitrarily arrested outside a hall where a dinner celebrating IU's sesquicentennial was being held. Although Allen had a press pass and a ticket to enter the hall, he was arrested on charges of trespassing.

Defense committee to back Phoenix young socialist

PHOENIX, Ariz. — A defense committee has been organized in Tempe, Arizona, to defend David Murphy, Phoenix YSA organizer and Student Mobilization Committee chairman, against alleged traffic violations placed against him the night of Jan. 23 in Mesa, Arizona. Murphy was detained for four hours in the Mesa police station and questioned regarding his political activities and the nature and composition of the organizations he heads.

He has retained Allen Kyman, a Phoenix civil liberties lawyer, to defend him on the traffic charges and to expose the political nature of his harassment.

At a Jan. 26 press conference, which was virtually blacked out by Phoenix area media, statements of solidarity with Murphy were read by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Arizona Civil Rights Board, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, the National Moratorium Committee, and the Revolutionary Youth Movement. David Frankel, YSA national committee member, represented the YSA at the conference.

Murphy's initial court costs will be

expensive. The Committee to Defend David Murphy asks that you send contributions and letters of support to Dr. Roger Murray, c/o SMC, P. O. Box 1021, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

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Expect big turnout for SMC parley

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam conference in Cleveland Feb. 14-15 will be the largest and certainly the most dynamic conference in the history of the antiwar movement.

No national antiwar conference has been built as seriously and as broadly as this one. Preconference discussion has taken place in many regions throughout the country and in the pages of the *Student Mobilizer*. Regional conferences have been held in several areas.

In the last few days, students have indicated that they are traveling by bus or car from Miami Western SMC, University of Virginia, St. Augustine's College Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Yale Medical School, University of South Florida Community Mobilization, Ball State University Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Nebraskans for Peace, Students and Teachers Opposed to the War (STOP) in Buffalo, Ohio Wesleyan Peace Action, Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, University of Mississippi, Brethren Action Movement in Indiana, SUNY at Rochester, SUNY at Buffalo, Sullivan High School in Chicago, Firestone in Akron, Ohio, Dubuque Area Peace Council, Oklahoma City People Involved in Peace and Equality, University of Rhode Island Coalition, San Diego SMC, Kalamazoo College in Michigan, among others.

Regional SMCs are chartering buses from Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Madison, Minneapolis, and the West Coast. A surprisingly large response has come from the West Coast and the South.

Also, many political tendencies in the student antiwar movement have indicated that they plan to participate in the conference, including the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the International Socialists.

Many citywide coalitions have also indicated that they are sending fraternal representatives to the conference, including the Boston New Mobilization Committee, the Indiana Mobe, the New



SMC in Washington Nov. 15

Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

Jersey New Mobilization Committee, the Detroit Coalition Against the War, and of course, the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council which is co-hosting the conference with the Cleveland SMC.

Twenty-five thousand *Student Mobilizers*, an exciting 24-page preconference discussion issue, were run, and within a week a re-order of 10,000 was necessary. The second discussion issue will be available at the conference. In it are many proposals and discussion articles indicating that the conference discussion will be full and exciting.

Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, has submitted the principal proposal for mass action in the spring which states that "the week of April 13-18 should be the focus of the spring antiwar offensive. This week should be highlighted on April 15 by massive student actions and strikes in the colleges and high schools across the country. Early on that day the campuses should be turned into engines of antiwar activity which proceed into massive citywide demonstrations later in the day to be coordinated by the local citywide antiwar coalition. These massive unified demonstrations should occur in as many cities as possible."

She states that the character of the actions should be like Oct. 15 and Nov. 15—"a massive show of strength behind the central demand of the im-

mediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Vietnam."

Also mentioned is that the actions "should be independent actions in the streets—independent of the government and independent of any electoral campaigns."

Another proposal before the conference will be the High School Bill of Rights published in draft form in the first issue of the *Student Mobilizer*. High school students from the Moratorium Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee in New York City have submitted a proposal on the basis of the draft of the High School Bill of Rights called "High School Students and the Fight Against the War." This resolution points to a program of struggle to implement the Bill of Rights.

Other resolutions have been submitted by the National Caucus of Labor Committees, again the International Socialists on "Toward the Working Class," the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee on "Perspectives for Campus Complicity Campaigns."

Also to be published in the *Student Mobilizer* will be a resolution from Ohio Wesleyan University, an article by the New Mobilization Committee Draft Task Force, and a discussion article by some members of the DeKalb Student Mobilization Committee on "Women's Liberation and the Fight Against the War."

New York highschoolers discuss political issues

By JUDY BAUMANN

NEW YORK — Hiking and biking were not discussed at a high school student panel sponsored by the American Youth Hostels here. Participants represented the High School Student Union, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Gay Liberation Front.

Susan Evans of the HSSU described its plans to struggle against the tracking system by which poor and minority groups find themselves channeled into trade schools while more advantaged students get college preparatory classes. "We recognize that capitalism is the real reason behind the meaningless education we get," she said.

Joan Gibbs explained that one of the ways the YSA works for a socialist America is by helping to organize fellow students and win their support for the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. She also noted that is-

suues like the role played by Black people in history and the role of women are often ignored by teachers, and that students must take the initiative to make sure that such issues are discussed in school.

In a debate over effective tactics for ending the Vietnam war, Julie Simon, speaking for the SMC, explained that antiwar activists are more valuable to the movement outside jail, and that as a result the SMC does not support deliberate, unequal confrontations or civil disobedience actions that are designed to lead to arrest or victimization.

The spokesman for the Gay Liberation Front pointed to a link between the struggle of homosexuals and that of women, who are also sexually oppressed.

The question and answer session which followed reflected the high degree of political consciousness that is emerging in the high schools.

Poll is slated of Blacks on Vietnam war

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK — Plans were announced here last week by the National Committee of Black Churchmen (NCBC) for a nationwide referendum on the Vietnam war this spring in Black communities and at military bases and stockades across the country. The poll, to be conducted during Holy Week, Mar. 22-29, could be of unique importance for the antiwar movement.

The referendum asks for a simple yes or no vote for the proposition: "I vote for the total immediate withdrawal of all American troops and money from Vietnam."

The organizers of the National Black Referendum on Vietnam consider it a means for increasing the involvement of Black people in the struggle against the Vietnam war. "This is a call to Black Americans to say that they are not a part of that silent majority Nixon talks about," says Irving Davis of SNCC, one of the participating groups.

Not only will the referendum offer Blacks the opportunity to voice their opposition to the war, according to the Rev. J. Metz Rollins, executive director of the NCBC, but it will also help determine how the Black community feels about the squandering of its tax dollars on the war "while millions of Blacks in America are dying of starvation and suffering from an unjust welfare system, continuous rise in unemployment and poor education" which the use of those dollars could begin to help alleviate.

Besides the National Committee of Black Churchmen, the referendum is being supported by Julian Bond, the Georgia legislator; LeRoi Jones, the playwright; actor Ossie Davis; Dr. George A. Wiley, director of the National Welfare Rights Organization; and H. Rap Brown of SNCC, among others.

This is the first nationally-coordinated referendum on the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. It is of obvious significance that it is to take place in the Black community, where there is almost universal recognition that its war-induced suffering is clearly related to the high number of Blacks who die in Vietnam and to the diversion of money from the Black community to help pay for the war.

This and the fact that the referendum is set to occur close to the dates being projected for massive spring antiwar actions provide an important opportunity for the antiwar movement to relate to it in every way possible and thereby broaden its mobilizable forces in the Black community.

N.Y. SMC focuses on high schools

NEW YORK — Almost 200 activists, representing more than 20 colleges and 25 high schools, crowded together at the first citywide SMC meeting of the new semester. There was a thorough discussion of spring antiwar perspectives, and the meeting pledged to build a major struggle for high school rights and massive antiwar actions in April.

The New York SMC is distributing over 100,000 leaflets about the national SMC conference and expects to bring several hundred students to Cleveland.

revised third edition

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness

35¢

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Preconference meeting held by Phila. SMC

By JAY RESSLER

PHILADELPHIA — Over 150 antiwar activists representing more than 15 colleges and universities from eastern Pennsylvania and 17 high schools in the Philadelphia area met at the University of Pennsylvania here on Jan. 31 to discuss proposals for the Feb. 14 national SMC conference in Cleveland.

The meeting adopted a proposal from the spring action workshop that sometime in April there be a week of local educational activities on the war culminating in a national mass action.

The high school organizing workshop was the largest and most spirited. The conference as a whole adopted its proposal for a high school meeting Feb. 28 to discuss a future high school rights conference to launch a campaign around the proposed High School Bill of Rights.

The conference concluded by unanimously adopting a position paper submitted by Rich Feigenberg, SMC Philadelphia coordinator, on "Perspectives for Campus Complicity Campaigns." Drawing on the experiences from struggles at the University of Pennsylvania around secret research and other complicity actions, the paper concluded: "Struggles against campus complicity have shown their capacity to mobilize masses of people against the war, make the issues clear and strike serious blows at the capacity of the government to wage war on the Vietnamese."

Report from Panther courtroom

Police atmosphere dominates

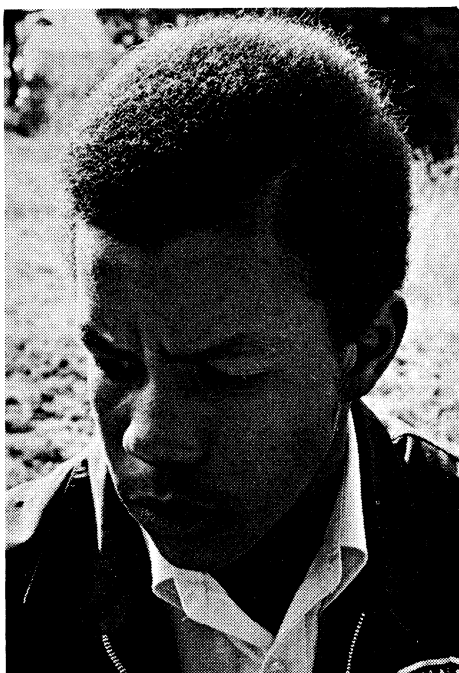
By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — The preliminary hearings in the trial of 16 of the Panther 21 got underway here Feb. 2 in an atmosphere dominated by blue uniforms. Police, some on horseback, lined the front of the courthouse. On the first floor of the building, a couple of hundred policemen milled about for the first two days. And in the corridors on the 13th floor that lead from the courtroom to the prisoners' quarters, there were at least a couple of dozen cops. About the same number—called court attendants—occupied the courtroom.

The Panthers face a variety of concocted charges of "conspiracy" to bomb various public places and kill various individuals. To give the charges a bit of substance, additional charges of illegal possession of weapons were thrown in. The real aim of the Lindsay administration, however, is not only to railroad these innocent Blacks to jail, but to join the nationwide campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The presiding judge, John M. Murtagh, made his hostility to the defendants plain during pretrial hearing, when he denied all motions for reduction of the excessive bail laid on the defendants. Since the preliminary hearing opened, Murtagh has coolly and contemptuously made clear that he is strongly opposed to the Panthers.

The attitude of the cops is equally



Lonnie Epps

clear. One of them admitted under defense questioning that he had expressed the view that the Black Panthers should be eliminated. He added on the stand that he didn't mean physically.

Saturation of the courthouse by cops was not the only evidence of the police-state atmosphere. According to one of the defense lawyers, William Crain, closed-circuit TV monitored the entrance and exit of people into the building. People entering the courtroom were

searched, and while the courtroom itself was much too small to hold all the people who wanted to attend, people were kept out, even before the room was full. On the first day of the trial, an NYU law student was falsely told by a policeman on the first floor that the court was jammed and there was no use trying to get in.

When Crain objected to all these and other "security" measures, and pointed out that they denied the 16 Panthers their right to a fair, public trial, Murtagh responded, "I'm grateful to those who are allowing us to have this trial."

Several of the defendants were beaten when they attempted to leave the courtroom to protest the judge's order to court attendants to expel a white woman who had yelled out in support of the Panthers. Murtagh declared a recess, and the defendants were beaten back into the corridor leading to their quarters. When the court was reconvened and while the judge and District Attorney Joseph Phillips were lauding the cops, one of the Panther 21, Dharuba (Richard Moore), blurted out that he had been kicked and had had his head dribbled against the concrete floor. His left eye was cut and swollen.

During the first two days, there were a number of defense motions. Murtagh refused to disqualify himself because of prejudice. He did agree to sever the case of Lee Berry from the 16, because Berry is seriously ill. At the same time, Murtagh denied defense lawyer Gerald Lefcourt's motion to reduce Berry's



Photo by Michael Hardy

Outside courtroom

\$100,000 bail. Murtagh accepted another defense motion to sever the cases of Lonnie Epps and Eddie Josephs, both of whom are 17-year-old high school students. They were bound over to the court's youth division.

In another motion, Charles T. McKinney, an Afro-American defense counsel, argued that since three of the defendants were Muslims, the trial should be recessed on Fridays, the Muslim sabbath. Murtagh reluctantly agreed. After heated protests on the first day of the hearing, the judge finally conceded the right of families of the defendants to occupy the first two rows of benches in the courtroom.

On Feb. 14, the third day of the hearing, Detective Joseph Coffee, one of the participants in the predawn raids on the Panthers last April, was extensively questioned by the defense in an effort to prove that much of the material seized by the cops is inadmissible as evidence in the forthcoming trial.

One of Coffee's replies to a defense question gives a good insight into the cop-DA mentality. Crain asked Coffee why the police had torn pictures of two Black 1968 Olympic winners, of a Black woman and baby, and of Huey Newton from the walls of one of the defendant's homes. "It was in my mind," replied Coffee, "that I felt that they provided evidence of conspiracy."

The Lindsay mob enters into the nationwide conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party. So in the mind of a cop, pictures of Black people in a Black man's apartment become evidence of—a Black conspiracy to blow up department stores.

California campaign notes

Black Students Union unit backs SWP

By CARYL TOWNER

HAYWARD, CALIF. — The Black Students Union at Cal State Hayward endorsed the California Socialist Workers Campaign after two extended meetings with Herman Fagg, candidate for governor, and Phil Connor, candidate for treasurer.

The endorsement came after a two-and-a-half hour YSA-sponsored panel discussion on "Which Way in the Black Struggle for Self-Determination?" Over 150 students attended. Along with the two Socialist Workers candidates, panelists included Marty Payne, chairman of the BSU; Don Cox, field marshal of the Black Panther Party; and Mike Clark, director of the Intercultural Relations Center.

The discussions centered around the need for an independent Black political party to relate to the needs of the Black community. There was general agreement that Black unity was essential in developing a viable Black organization and providing leadership for independent mass actions.

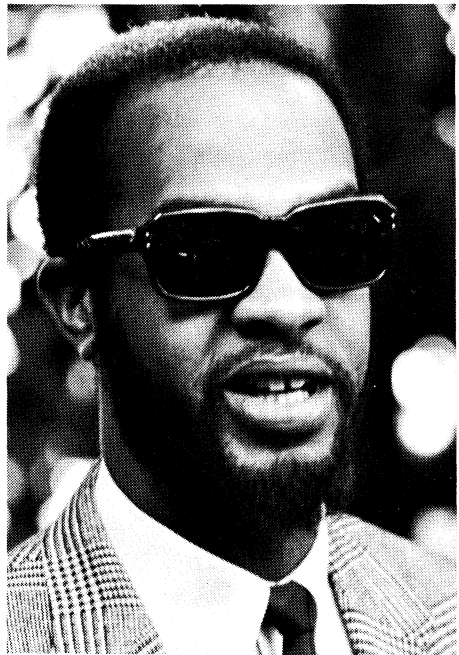
Fagg and Connor explained the necessity for a multinational revolutionary party which can provide leadership for Third World, women's and antiwar struggles. They saw no contradiction between this party and all-Black orga-

nizations specifically organized around the needs and demands of the Black community. All panelists agreed that Third World people must be organized against the Vietnam war.

In discussing the relevance of Black studies, all members of the panel stressed that Black and other students must no longer see the community and university as being separate realms. Rather, the university should be used by students and members of the community specifically to serve the needs of the community.

Both the representatives from the Black Panther Party and the SWP gave the women's liberation movement complete support.

Fagg and Connor view the endorsement of the Hayward BSU as the first step in aligning Black student and community organizations throughout California behind their candidacies. They are scheduled to go on a statewide tour of all BSUs in the near future. For more information on this tour, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 2338 Market St., San Francisco 94114, (415) 863-5197.



Herman Fagg



Don Cox

Panther survivors indicted in Chicago

The decision of a Cook County, Illinois, grand jury on Jan. 30 to indict on attempted murder and armed violence the seven Chicago Black Panthers who survived the Dec. 4 police raid that murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark is one more example of turning the victim into the criminal. This indictment is especially outrageous in view of the fact that the evidence shows that it is the cops who are guilty of murder and armed violence in this raid.

Prof. Peck wins in Chicago trial

CHICAGO — Prof. Sidney Peck, Cleveland antiwar leader, won acquittal here Feb. 4 on charges of aggravated battery, a felony charge. The charge came after Peck was beaten by cops during the Democratic convention police riot. The judge who found Peck not guilty dismissed a similar charge by a second cop. The judge found that Peck had not beaten the policemen and that they had used undue, unjustified force in arresting him. On technicalities, he found Peck guilty of aggravated assault and resisting arrest, both misdemeanors. Sentencing will be on March 5. The judge's statement indicates good prospects for a suspended sentence.

A REPORT FROM HAVANA

Cuba's school of arts on the Isle of Youth

HAVANA (Prensa Latina—Advance to The Militant)—Most visitors to Cuba know the striking, modernistic National School of Music and Art, the Cubanacan, on the outskirts of Havana. Like other schools in Cuba it is tuition-free. It is a boarding school for more than 700 selected students who receive everything they need to live and learn. Since it was founded, thousands of students have passed through this school studying art, sculpture, music, dance and drama.

Its graduates will perform in Cuban ballets, modern dance, orchestras and theater. Museums, magazines and salons will be adorned with the work of men and women who have spent their adolescence in this school.

Last year, 1969, was a special one for the students of the Music and Art School. What made it special did not happen at Cubanacan. In fact, it did not even occur on the mainland of Cuba, but rather, on an island six hours by ferryboat from Cuba's southern coast, the Isle of Pines, now called the Isle of Youth.

In 1969 the student body of the Art and Music School, with the exception of its youngest students, spent the first and last three months of the year on the Isle, that is, one-half of the entire year.

The more than 700 students, 60 percent young women, lived in a community of bunkhouses on a small peninsula that juts into the recently completed Heroic Vietnam Reservoir. On both sides of the roads that enter the camp there are new orange groves planted by the students themselves.

The Music and Art School went to the Isle to participate in the development of that long-neglected piece of Cuba. Before the revolution the entire island, the size of Rhode Island,

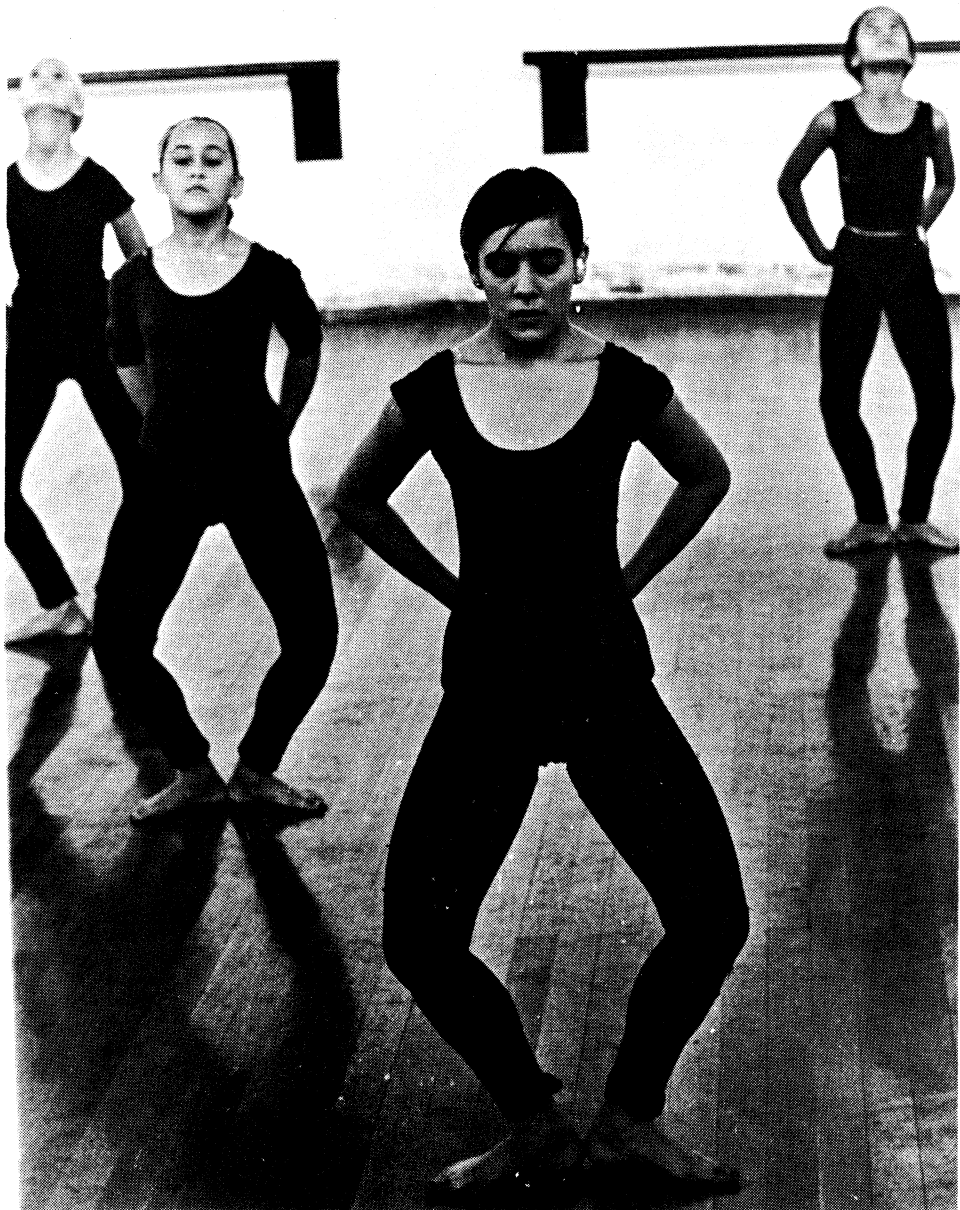
only had 10,000 residents. In addition, there were five thousand prisoners in the Presidio, one of Cuba's largest and most infamous jails.

Plans to transform the island are already in full swing. The prison has been turned into a psychology school and the population of the island has swelled. Besides its 28,000 regular residents there are on the island some 20,000 youth who have come to work for regular periods. Among the latter were the students from the Art and Music School.

The students of this school have made a definite contribution to the development of the Isle of Youth. They cleared land, planted citrus trees, fertilized, fumigated, hoed and harvested. In all they contributed more than a half-million hours of productive work during their six months on the island. During their final weeks there, during the Christmas-New Year season, they voted themselves "guerrilla fighters" and worked 12 hours a day.

The general director of their school, Mario Hidalgo, is thin, tall and gray-haired. When we spoke to him he was dressed in a faded T-shirt and olive-green militia pants. He looked a little weary and he said that he's looking forward to the 15-day vacation that will follow the return to the mainland.

"This has been a hard year," Mario told us. "But our students have come through it all superbly. The experience has been extraordinarily useful to them. They came into contact with the people. They have learned that work is creative and that only through labor can the people produce their sustenance. In spite of the fact that they have not had so much time for formal study, their professional rigor has increased. They have gained a new sense of responsibility to the people."



Ballet students at Cuba's national school of arts.

That sense of responsibility as artists was manifested time and time again during their six months on the island. On weekends, after five days of hard work in the fields, they would go to other camps on the island to put on shows. Twice during the year they made a tour of the isolated outposts of the island, sometimes giving full-scale performances for only a dozen men. The drama group's version of Moliere's "A School for Women" ran for two consecutive weekends in the Free Theater at Nueva Girona, the largest city of the island. The many schools of the island have been decorated with colorful murals by the art students of the school.

In the hours of the day allotted to study, the students have worked hard to improve their skills. The 63 students of piano have had their assigned hours for practice. The artists and sculptors have been able to give free play to their ideas. The sculptors have learned the use of royal palm and have produced some excellent art objects. The drama group practices outdoors in their theater with its 12 X 12 portable stage and benches made from blocks for the spectators. The modern dance contingent practices in the big courtyard around which the bunkhouses are situated.

During practice time this medley of activity, with its typical Cuban ebullience, has the energy output of a small atomic power plant. Music and drama students normally practice in work clothes and boots; the dance students in leotards. One would be hard put to find another Music and Art School in the world that could compete with this one for sheer uniqueness and enthusiasm.

Company says it'll be no sweat

Heavy layoffs hit Boeing aircraft

By BILL MASSEY
Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Washington

SEATTLE — While announcing the firing of 18,000 more Boeing workers, a Boeing Company economist stated that it "is not a disaster, not panic news . . . we can live with it if we keep it cool." This is undoubtedly true for Lowell P. Mickelwait, Boeing vice president and member of its board of directors, who made the announcement of the mass layoffs. Neither he nor any of the other Boeing directors that are firing thousands of workers are taking even a one-cent cut in their own pay.

Mr. Mickelwait is also a member of the board of directors of Puget Sound Power and Light Company and Pacific Northwest Bell Telephone Company. He is not alone among the Boeing board of directors in holding down several high-paying jobs while at the same time kicking tens of thousands of workers out of their one (not-so-high-paying) job.

Mickelwait's fellow Boeing directors also hold directorships with the following corporations, among others: Standard Oil; Weyerhaeuser; Safeway; Pacific National Bank; Time, Inc.; Union Pacific; Mutual Life Insurance Co.; Middle Southern Utilities; First National City Bank of New York; Colgate Palmolive Co.; Carte Blanche; and United Pacific Insurance Co.

The new increase in firings by Boeing brings the yearly toll of layoffs at that corporation to well over 40,000. This will raise the state level of unemployment from its present figure of 75,000 to close to 100,000. For those workers covered by the meagre \$42-a-week maximum unemployment compensation, it will bring the present unemployment percentage from 7.9 percent to about 10 percent statewide.

Boeing ranked 17th among all U.S. corporations in yearly sales earnings over the 10-year period of 1958-1968. It is also ranked by the U.S. Dept. of Defense in December 1969 as the ninth highest recipient of war contracts.

Boeing has received high government subsidies for developing the 747 jet and the SST, as well as for its other products. These are then sold for high profits on both the military and commercial markets. In this way, Boeing makes huge profits while forcing the tax-paying working people to pay the costs.

Washington, with its 100,000 unemployed workers, is a major victim of the Nixon administration's economic policy. The state is one of the hardest hit by the inflationary spiral caused by the huge spending for the Vietnam war. This inflation is cutting deeply into the earnings of the working people who are now being fired from their jobs. The rise in the cost of living has

been more rapid than the rise in the wages of workers. This fact is a clear refutation of the claims of bosses of corporations like General Electric or Boeing that it is the cost of labor that causes inflation.

The real cause of the inflation is to be found in the \$30-billion required each year to finance Nixon's war in Vietnam and the additional billions spent on "defense."

The Nixon administration, with the support of the Democratic Party, has decided that it will continue the war in Vietnam and the spending which has made corporations such as Boeing wealthy. In order to do this, the government has decided to cut costs by further attacking the standard of living of the American working people.

It is in this light that cutbacks on social welfare budgets and government-inspired layoffs (or more accurately mass firings) of workers must be seen. By creating a mass reserve army of unemployed, the bosses hope to force labor to lower its pressure for higher wages.

In addition to the already heavy tax burden, Governor Evans of Washington is trying to get a state income tax proposal passed, and Seattle's Democratic mayor, Wes Uhlman, is attempting to get a new one percent sales tax.

The total lack of narrow chauvinism in the school's outlook is pointed up by the modern dance group. The two foremost pieces of the group are American. Mario readily admits that they want to learn from the Americans in modern dance: "The best schools of modern dance are in the United States. There are some good ones in Europe, but most of them are too influenced by classical ballet. The blockade has hurt, but we have had some refreshing contact with some of America's vanguard dance groups."

The director said that 1970 will be a good scholastic year for the students. They will study most of the year and devote the weekends and a few months at most to productive agricultural work. "However," he stated, "the experience of 1969 will stay with the students. It has undermined any sense of elitism that might have been sprouting. There was some threat of that. Some students were made to feel that in some way they were superior because they are creative artists. The six months on the Isle of Youth and the steady work they have performed will in future years consolidate the higher level of consciousness which they have begun to develop. You might even say that because of their experiences they are that much closer to the coming 'new man.'"

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The liberation struggle in Peru

By ROBERT LANGSTON

For the last couple of years, an intensive and wide-ranging discussion on the problems of revolutionary armed struggle has been developing in Latin America. Hector Bejar's essay, *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*, currently being serialized in *Intercontinental Press*, is an important contribution to this discussion, and Joseph Hansen's review of it, reprinted here from the Jan. 19, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, introduces the crucial issues involved to North American audiences.

The immediate predecessor of the 1965 guerrilla efforts was a mighty peasant movement that shook the southern Peruvian Andes in the early '60s. This movement was based on peasant unions, organized largely under the leadership of Hugo Blanco, a young agronomist and militant of the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario (FIR — Front of the Revolutionary Left, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International).

These unions spread rapidly during 1961 and 1962, especially in La Convencion province. As they grew in strength, they developed more advanced demands, and in 1963 there began a large-scale movement to recover land taken from the peasants by the big landowners. Under the leadership of the unions, the peasants would simply occupy the land left idle by landowners and begin to farm it. To defend the reclaimed land against the private armies of the landowners and—increasingly, as time went on, against the state police—the unions began to organize peasant militias. The development of the unions and the militias, and the land reclamation actions they carried out and defended, brought a degree of actual dual power to La Convencion.

Blanco was captured on May 30, 1963, after having been underground since the previous November, when two policemen were killed in a clash with peasants. He was charged with treason, sedition, and murder. Nevertheless, the union movement continued to advance throughout '63 and, in fact, climaxed in the early spring of '64. But it lacked sufficient revolutionary cadres and sufficient ties to other parts of the country and to the cities to withstand the terrible repression unleashed by the Belaunde Terry government in 1964. While much of the land that had been reclaimed remained in the hands of the peasants, their unions were seriously weakened.

Hugo Neira, a correspondent for the Lima daily, *Expreso*, described something of Blanco's impact in his book *Cuzco: Tierra y Muerte* (Cuzco: Land and Death), written after he had been in the area from December '63 to March '64. Neira wrote:

"This is the straight truth, without falsification, of what this man, who is a prisoner today in Arequipa, means to the peasant masses. . . . 'We owe him everything,' say the peasants. In fact every change in Convencion and elsewhere in the country was accelerated due to the danger they saw in peasants having no hope other than hope in the revolutionary unionism of Blanco.

"Devotion to Blanco is total; they don't dare bring him to trial. I am referring to the unionized peasants. 'He is our chief,' they say. . . . And in every peasant's home there is an empty bed. It's the one that was waiting hopefully for the leader when he was going around the region organizing or when he was passing during the night, under the stars, fleeing from the police. . . ."

In fact, they did not dare bring Blanco to trial until August 1966, when, with 28 other peasant unionists, he faced a court-martial convened far, far away from La Convencion. The next month, Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in prison, and only a massive international campaign prevented him from being executed.

In the spring of 1965, two guerrilla fronts were opened by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and one by the Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN — Army of National Liberation). Luis de la Puente of the MIR led a group in La Convencion; Hector Bejar commanded an ELN force somewhat farther north in Ayacucho department; Guillermo Lobaton and Maximo Velando of the MIR were at the head of a unit still farther to the north in Junin department. All the regions had been deeply affected by the peasant-union movement, which was, however, at that time temporarily ebbing.

For the first three months, the guerrillas won impressive victories. But the forces of repression, trained and equipped by the United States, were overwhelming. On Oct. 23, de la Puente was killed in battle. On Dec. 5, Velando, who had been captured some weeks before, was murdered by policemen at the Satipo airport. Lobaton, whose fate

has never been learned with certainty, was apparently captured sometime during the fall. By the end of the year, the guerrillas had been crushed, and those who were still alive and at liberty were in hiding.

During 1966, dozens and dozens of members and supporters of the ELN and MIR were rounded up, including Ricardo Gadea, brother of Che's first wife. They, as well as those captured while the conflict was still in progress, were often tortured and held for years without trial. Bejar himself was captured in 1966, and he has yet to face a court.

While Blanco has not yet written a systematic study of the experience of the early '60s comparable to this one by Bejar, numerous shorter essays and interviews give a clear indication of his thinking. The events subsequent to the peasant-union struggles, including the guerrilla efforts, have deepened his conviction that the revolutionary vanguard must, at all costs, avoid isolation from the masses, that it must fight on demands immediately meaningful to the masses, and that it must systematically and patiently build a vanguard party. In a letter written last Aug. 28, Blanco discussed the FIR's call to the Peruvian students to go to the countryside to rebuild the peasant organizations.

"It is in the course of all this work," he wrote, "precisely in its course that the party organization must be built in the countryside with the best elements that come to the fore in the class struggle. That was what was left out in La Convencion; it was the basic deficiency from which everything else followed.

"The 'syndicalism' over which we criticized ourselves in regard to Chaupimayo did not consist in failing to raise

the economic aspiration of the masses to a political level. This was done in a generally correct way. Our 'syndicalism' consisted of not concretizing this political advance of the masses, and especially of the vanguard, in a political organization with Bolshevik discipline which would have best been able to consolidate this vanguard.

"The unification of the revolutionary left will likewise be achieved in and through this work, as well as through work in the cities, principally among the proletariat. This work likewise must start from the present struggle of the workers. Thus, through a program of transitional demands, we will arrive at socialist revolution."

There are several hundred revolutionary political prisoners in Peru today, many of them veterans of 1960-64 peasant-union struggles and of the 1965 guerrilla struggles. The military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado that seized power in October 1968 is making every effort to present a progressive image to the world. The same kind of campaign that saved Blanco's life three years ago has some real prospect of being able to win his, Bejar's, Gadea's and the other Peruvian revolutionaries' release from prison. But it will require such a campaign. Whatever their progressive pretensions, Velasco and his cohorts fear a mobilization of the masses as much as did their predecessors; they will not gladly release these revolutionary leaders.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is conducting a campaign on behalf of the Peruvian political prisoners in this country. Inquiries and contributions can be sent to USLA, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001.

Bejar on the guerrilla movement

By JOSEPH HANSEN

PERU 1965: NOTES ON A GUERRILLA EXPERIENCE by Hector Bejar, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, \$6.00.

This essay was awarded the Casa de las Americas prize for 1969. In consequence, the book received considerable publicity throughout Latin America. By now it is familiar to the entire Spanish-speaking vanguard. A French translation was published in Paris by Maspero simultaneously with the Havana edition so that Béjar's study became accessible to the vanguard in Europe perhaps even earlier than it did to some sectors in Latin America.

The awarding of the prize did not imply official approval of the book by the Cuban government. The panel that judged the entries included only one Cuban, Oscar Pino Santos. The other members were Rubén Bareiro (Paraguay), Sergio Benvenuto (Uruguay), Hans Magnus Enzensberger (Germany), and Carlos María Gutiérrez (Uruguay). It is important to note this in view of Béjar's criticisms of international Stalinism and the importance he ascribes to the role of the Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco in the revival of the revolutionary movement in Peru. That top figures in the Cuban government might disagree with Béjar on various important points underlines their integrity in seeing to it that the book was published and distributed in accordance with the decision of the panel of judges.

Héctor Béjar himself broke from the Communist party of Peru and moved to the left under the influence of the Cuban revolution.

The jacket of the Spanish edition carries the following biographical note:

"Héctor Béjar Rivera was born in Chosica, Peru, on December 2, 1935. Studied law and literature at the University of San Marcos and was a student at the School of Liberal Arts. Took up writing poems and essays. While still in his adolescence, became a member of the Communist party and rose to membership in the Central Committee. Founded and edited the party's official journal. Expelled from the CP in 1958 because of differences over the electoral road and the party's policy of compromising with the country's oligarchical regimes. In 1962, together with

other *compañeros*, he organized the *Ejército Nacional de Liberación* [Army of National Liberation], in order to establish a guerrilla front. Participated in various armed actions. Gravely ill, he was arrested in Lima in 1966, and since then has been held in San Quintín prison awaiting trial."*

Writing in a prison cell under harsh conditions and without adequate research materials, Béjar made no attempt to draw up a definitive balance sheet. *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience* is intended, he says, merely to "open a discussion." As a contribution to that discussion, it will be "corrected and completed in the future."

Besides opening a discussion on the vital question of armed struggle in Latin America, the book breaks fresh ground in other respects. As a firsthand account from one of the few survivors of the 1965 guerrilla experience, it offers unusually important factual material. Of greatest significance, perhaps, is the *critical* estimate it offers of that experience.

(Continued on page 8)



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(Continued from page 7)

"The reader will find few eulogies to the guerrillas," says Béjar in his foreword. "It is always easy, especially for those who did not participate in the combat, to heap up adjectives. Nevertheless, the author feels that it is preferable, if one really wishes to continue a task, to explain why the first attempts failed. Total adherence to a cause does not exclude, but imposes, the obligation to discuss in what way it can be better served."

Béjar seeks to show why armed struggle is inevitable in Peru—there is no other way to overcome capitalism and open up the road to socialism. To prove his point, he proceeds in accordance with the Marxist method, sketching the class struggle in Peru as shaped by the geography and history of the country and as finally influenced by the penetration of U.S. imperialism. Béjar's analysis is brief but incisive.

In considering the upsurge of the peasantry in recent years, Béjar pays tribute to the work of Hugo Blanco.

"In 1961 and 1962," he writes, "the Lima newspapers began to talk about Hugo Blanco, demanding the repression of the unions in La Convención and Lares."

"The recovery of the land, dubbed by the rightist oligarchy as an 'invasion,' proceeded peacefully in these valleys through the mobilization of large numbers of peasants whom economic developments and migration had divided up into a complex social structure. . . .

"Through the Cuzco lawyers, the peasants joined the *Federación de Trabajadores del Cuzco*, led almost exclusively by the Communist party. The first strike occurred during the months of June and July 1960, before Hugo Blanco had yet reached the valley.

"Hugo Blanco's participation in the organizational activities of the unions led to a rise in the level of struggle. 1961 and 1962 can be considered as the high points of the union wave.

"But Blanco's revolutionary ideology aroused the jealousy of the former heads of the *Federación Provincial* and his Trotskyism aroused the distrust of the Communist leaders of the *Federación de Trabajadores del Cuzco*. When he was named general secretary of the latter in 1962, the election was contested by some members. Meanwhile the Lima government ordered his arrest.

"Then came the violent period of persecution that culminated in his being taken prisoner in May 1963. The government had freed itself of Blanco but it had not been able to avoid thousands of peasants freeing themselves, the power of the *hacendados* being broken, and the pre-existing social structure altered. It was the first defeat of such proportions to be suffered by the *latifundio*—a de facto agrarian reform had been realized."

In a few pages on the development of the "new left" in Peru, we are given indications of the repercussions of Khrushchev's admissions at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and of the victory of the Cuban revolution:

"The impact caused by the Cuban Revolution was very great and was not long in becoming reflected in the political organizations. In the APRA [*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*] a group of youth responded by forming first the *Comité de Defensa de los Principios Apristas y de la Democracia Interna* [Committee in Defense of Aprista Principles and Internal Democracy], then the *APRA Rebelde* [Rebel APRA], and later the MIR [*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. They were headed by Luis de la Puente Uceda.

"The effect in the Communist party was even greater, linking up with the repercussions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the polemic with the PCCH [Chinese Communist party].

"In short, an entire ideological, theoretical, and practical scaffolding was automatically placed under discussion. The Stalin cult had been shaken to its foundations and along with it the infallibility of the Party of the Soviet Union. Subjects such as the validity of the positions of the CPSU; when to expect the Revolution—in the immediate or distant future—and the role of the social classes in it; the stages of the revolution and the role of the party, began to be debated.

"In general, Cuban socialism put the problems of the revolution on the agenda for today and not for a more or less distant tomorrow, gave all the revolutionists of Latin America a precise objective, and offered a certain support for the sprouting 'heresies.' Without stating it, all of us understood at the time that a new revolutionary stage had opened and that the revolution, in being carried out, would not necessarily develop in accordance with the patterns we had previously had in mind."

Besides these influences, the upsurge of the peasantry and the role played by Hugo Blanco had to be added:

"We have already seen how, under the influence of the left in some instances and spontaneously in others, the unionization of the peasantry broadened from 1956 up to 1962. The highest point of this great wave, because of the political quality of its leaders, was in the valleys of La Convención and Lares and the most outstanding figure was Hugo Blanco.

"But Hugo Blanco was a disciplined Trotskyist militant.

* As with other quotations in this review, the translation is my own. J. H.



Hector Béjar

This fact presented a serious problem for the left. Hadn't it been said for many years that the Trotskyists were agents of imperialism? Hadn't it been repeatedly claimed that Trotskyism was a counterrevolutionary current? The years of Stalinism were not in the distant past, and in any case, even with the idol of Stalin fallen, the supreme anathema against Trotskyism had not been withdrawn by anyone; it remained in full force.

"This, on the one hand. On the other, the left as a whole did not become fully incorporated into the peasant struggle. It directed the organizations 'from above,' advised the unions, sent organizers temporarily into the field, but it did not lead 'from within' the way Blanco did.

"On the one hand, its still existing political prejudices prevented it from giving Blanco the collaboration he merited. On the other hand, its inertia kept it locked within the old urban molds."

An attempt was made to set up a united front to help Hugo Blanco. A number of currents responded. But the "great majority of the left ignored the appeal and support for Blanco remained in the majority of cases purely verbal. However, what Blanco needed was not declarations, but money, men, arms . . ."

In Béjar's opinion, a great opportunity was lost. The counterrevolution took full advantage of the defeat, and the left is paying to this day for its failure to back Hugo Blanco during the ascendancy of the movement he led.

It should be noted that Héctor Béjar, despite his effort at complete objectivity in estimating Hugo Blanco's role, makes several assertions that are dubious, particularly since he does not attempt to substantiate them. For instance, he holds Blanco partly responsible for the defeat because "Blanco himself was not prepared to meet these difficult moments inasmuch as he remained subject to a dogmatic leadership, little aware of the national reality and ignorant of practical work, a leadership that was unable to devise a consistent and logical way out for the movement that had been initiated."

Hugo Blanco himself, however, has explained that the gravest weakness confronting the movement was *the absence of a mass revolutionary-socialist party*.

Béjar also disagrees with Blanco's policy of seeking to bring the peasants into the revolutionary struggle as a mass force through extension of their unions and organization of militias in defensive battles that might open the perspective of establishing dual power. Béjar appears not to have grasped the import of this policy, its relation to the construction of a combat party, and its derivation in the final analysis from the experience of the Russian revolution. He counterposes the tactic of guerrilla struggle, evidently based on the Cuban model.

It should likewise be noted that while Béjar came to understand, through the activities of Hugo Blanco, that Trotskyism does not at all correspond with the slanders that were so long the stock-in-trade of the Stalinists, he has yet to make an intensive study of its origins, devel-

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Béjar also disagrees with Blanco's policy of seeking to bring the peasants into the revolutionary struggle as a mass force through extension of their unions and organization of militias in defensive battles that might open the perspective of establishing dual power. Béjar appears not to have grasped the import of this policy, its relation to the construction of a combat party, and its derivation in the final analysis from the experience of the Russian revolution. He counterposes the tactic of guerrilla struggle, evidently based on the Cuban model.

It should likewise be noted that while Béjar came to understand, through the activities of Hugo Blanco, that Trotskyism does not at all correspond with the slanders that were so long the stock-in-trade of the Stalinists, he has yet to make an intensive study of its origins, devel-

opment, anarrent positions. And this despite his understanding the outlook of the Communist party of Peru cannot be perly understood without going into its history and relations with the Communist International. Thus he wri:

"Only by austively analyzing the history of the party and relating to the history of the international Communist movnt, can the roots be uncovered of the errors that were cnitted, because the national policy of the party alwayeflected the line of the international Communist movnt. Standing solely on a vague, overall rejection of opportunism, the dissidents of the Communist party ahose who repeated their arugments, refused to deepen thanalysis.

"The saman be said with respect to the Trotskyists. It is true thStalinism is the source of the deformations of the Commist movement, of its errors and setbacks. But is thatough to explain everything? Is it not also necessary tek the roots of Stalinism, the explanation of why it cc rise and triumph in the struggle for leadership of Eevism? Why direct the criticism solely at Stalinism anot likewise at Trotskyism, whose claims are not newour country? In reality, the Trotskyist leaderships shato a considerable degree in the conceptions and methodsignated as 'traditional.'"

Despite favorable impression created by Béjar's insistence on exhaustively analyzing" the history of the Peruvian Gmunist party and its relationship to the history of Communist International, we are struck by the natof his criticism of Trotskyism. It is "also" necessary tek "the roots" of Stalinism, to work out a Marxist exption of why Stalinism succeeded in smashing the Bovik party built by Lenin! But the probing of these "r" and the working out of a Marxist explanation of rise of Stalinism were precisely among the main contrions made by Trotsky. That Béjar is obviously unre of this tells us much about the theoretical level of theuvian guerrilla fighters in 1965. It is clear that they v into action without first having genuinely settled acco with Stalinism.

Mere rejea of Stalinism is not enough. If the disasters to which Sism has repeatedly led are to be forestalled, the nature talinism must be understood to the bottom. That mean begin with, knowing the origin of the revolutionary stance to it, beginning with the bloc formed by Lenin Trotsky against Stalin in 1923. It means thoroughlyasping Trotsky's explanation of Stalinism as the expn of the privileged social layer that arose in the SovUnion owing to the low economic and cultural levelussia, the decimation of the revolutionary vanguard ie civil war, the imperialist encirclement of the first wcs state, its inability to raise the productive level at a siently swift rate in face of the blockade, and the tempo: inability to extend the revolution on an internationcale—all this, coupled with the rise of a petty-bourq reaction based on the peasantry as the proletarianguard sank back exhausted.

Once Try's contributions in this area are really understoode true role of the Stalinized Communist Internations a border guard for the usurping bureaucratic castomes clear. Along with this, much else also becomes cl—such as the tenacity of the caste, its capacity to veer maneuver, even to clean up its image and grant somorms as under Khrushchev. Most important of all, per, is the understanding that what is wrong with Stalir is not that it represents "traditional" concepts and iods, i.e., a Leninism outmoded by events, but that presents the direct antithesis of Leninism, which is heory and practice of building a combat party to ple leadership for the masses when they actually begoving as a whole toward a revolutionary solution for economic and social problems.

The gues of 1965, by going into action without having setaccounts in a fundamental way with Stalinism, left ctwo grave political breaches: (1) The possibility of nism (whether in a Khrushchevist, Maoist, or "neo-Stst" form) exercising an influence, even if indirect, irr own ranks. (2) The certainty—by equating Stalinwith Leninism or with political parties in general—they could not bring to bear in their situation the rtionary methods conceived by Lenin and tested out r his and Trotsky's joint leadership in the Russian rition, which still remains the example *par excellence* in assured way of winning a revolutionary struggle.

The moduable sections of Béjar's study are those dealing wie specific guerrilla fronts and the errors that finall to disaster. Béjar remains a firm believer in guerrillarfare as the royal road to victory and he considers errors that proved fatal to the campaign to have bertical in nature.

The gues held, for instance, that by starting various fronts simeously this would compel the regime to disperse itaed forces, making it easier to confront them with guerwar. It turned out, however, that the regime, which enj the full support of U.S. imperialism, had such overming military forces at its disposal that it was the gllas who suffered the consequences of dispersal in bf a highly coordinated foe trained in counter guerrillar. The initiation of various fronts in re-



POLITICAL PRISONERS. Among those held in Peru's notorious El Fronton are Hugo Blanco (right), Jose Castro Vera (left), a peasant leader, and Eduardo Creus, Argentine Trotskyist ar-

rested in 1962 on charges of being connected with students who held up a bank to raise funds for guerrilla warfare.

mote areas is thus rated by Béjar as a tactical mistake.

The ELN and the MIR had contradictory estimates of the Peruvian economic and social reality so that they did not follow the same political guidelines. Left out of account was the conservatizing effect on the peasants of the repression that followed the victories won under Hugo Blanco. The relative roles of the countryside and the city were miscalculated, the importance of the cities being underestimated. Publicity was poorly handled, the program of the movement remained unclear to the public.*

The fronts were easily infiltrated by the enemy, with devastating consequences. When the army entered a zone in which the guerrillas had been operating, uncertain elements among the local population rapidly went over to the other side, shifting the apparent relationship of forces to the great disadvantage of the guerrillas.

The guerrillas could not reach agreement on a unified military command. They proved incapable of coordinating their actions or even making military intelligence available to each other in a timely way.

Despite determination to follow the Cuban model rigorously, innovations were tried that proved to be self-defeating. One of the worst mistakes was the attempt to set up "security zones." For example, the belief that the Mesa Pelada was safe turned out to be an illusion. It was encircled by the foe and became a death trap for the main leader Luis de la Puente.

Béjar goes into all this in some detail. As to the ultimate reasons for the errors, he ascribes these to the origin of the guerrillas. The key cadres of the ELN came from various dissident groups, but principally from the left wing of the Communist party. They left that organization under the influence of the Cuban revolution. Under the same influence, the key cadres of the MIR came from the left wing of the APRA. Each of these currents, although

* The program, in any case, was limited to five demands: "(1) People's Government. (2) Expulsion of all the foreign monopolies. (3) Agrarian Revolution. (4) Friendship with all the peoples of the world. (5) National Sovereignty."

National sovereignty and an agrarian revolution belong historically to the democratic demands of the bourgeois revolution. It is noteworthy that the program did not call for *expropriation* of foreign capitalist interests. What a "people's government" might mean is hard to visualize. Equally vague is the foreign policy labeled "friendship with all the peoples of the world."

In short, the Peruvian guerrillas did not start from what was shown by the Cuban revolution; i.e., how a revolution for democratic demands in the world of today tends to become converted into a revolution for socialism. Their program amounted to an attempt to begin where the Cubans started, without taking into account the *advance* represented by the *victory* of the Cuban revolution—the new stage opened up in the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, which requires a new, more advanced, set of demands. Despite their intentions, the Peruvian guerrillas locked themselves into a "traditionalist" schema.

Bejar is critical of the programmatic inadequacies of the 1965 guerrilla struggle in Peru but does not go into the problem in depth.

they had overcome much that was bad in their background, retained features of their formation that interfered with proper coordination of their struggle and a proper estimate of the political scene in which they operated.

A question arises which one hopes Béjar will return to as he deepens his study of what happened in 1965. To what degree were the errors not just "tactical" errors but *political* errors? The question is of considerable importance in drawing up a balance sheet.

Note some of the things that emerge from Béjar's account of what the guerrillas ran into "tactically":

Armed action was begun in the field without construction of a *general staff* to guide the participants in their common struggle.

Armed action was begun without a common political estimate of the reality, and, in the absence of a general staff, no means to keep that political estimate up to date and to test it in ways entailing the lowest overhead cost to the movement.

With neither a general staff nor a common political estimate, it is a wonder that the guerrillas were able to achieve such coordination as they did. But, as Béjar stresses, it was woefully inadequate.

Further political consequences followed. The guerrillas lacked means of connecting up with and mobilizing the masses if they failed to be directly and immediately "inspired" by the armed action into mobilizing themselves. Not only were the means lacking, the guerrillas did not even take into consideration the possibility that the masses might not be prepared to move at the signal given by the action of small bands of armed men lacking roots in the masses. The masses might require more time to gain their own political experience in their own way—time to test the claims of leaders, to check out methods, to build up self-confidence, to get a feel of the strength of their numbers. The guerrillas did not visualize the possibility of the masses themselves making a contribution, perhaps in unexpected ways.

In talking about the absence of a "general staff" and of a "common political estimate of the reality," what are we really saying? *That the guerrillas lacked a political party built on the Leninist model.*

One might assume that this would logically be one of the main criticisms reached by Héctor Béjar. His opinion, however, is just the contrary.

The truth is that throughout his study he views armed struggle—guerrilla warfare—as having such intrinsic virtues and powers, even when initiated by a tiny handful, as to open up completely new perspectives, particularly with regard to bypassing the task of building a revolutionary-socialist party.

In a chapter "The ELN," under the subheading "Revolution and Party," Béjar indicates his views on this. He takes us to the heart of the concepts that guided the Peruvian guerrillas of 1965:

(Continued on page 10)

Newsweek says brass is shook up

Magazine reports rising dissent in armed forces

By DAVID THORSTAD

Hippie beads and peace symbols are replacing St. Christopher medals and the cross. The "V" sign no longer means "victory" but peace. Pot and peace posters are becoming more popular than the traditional beer and pin-ups.

According to the Feb. 2 issue of *Newsweek*, these are some of the outward manifestations of the "New GI" who is creating a potentially explosive situation for the government and the brass. The article, "A New GI: For Pot and Peace," presents important new information about dissent within the armed forces which the antiwar movement should take close note of and do everything possible to help surface and organize.

Worst of all from the brass' point of view, it explains, is the fact that GIs "are not only increasingly outspoken in their opposition to the war but openly irreverent toward their superior officers." These are "young antiwar warriors who flout the conventional 'my-

country-right-or-wrong' military values of yesteryear." "There is no doubt about it," says one lieutenant colonel in Vietnam, "the 'Movement' is here at last—and it could become contagious."

Nowhere is this growing dissent more evident than in Vietnam, the article indicates. The causes of this trend are to be found in the current radicalization sweeping society as a whole. Inside the Army, discontent is taking shape along the same lines it is in the general population. This is reflected in a growing desire among the troops to be brought home from Vietnam now and in an increasing nationalism among Black GIs.

"There are signs," according to *Newsweek*, "that a malaise, catalyzed in part by the antiwar convictions of the educated draftees, may be spreading in different forms to other U.S. troops in Vietnam. 'If Nixon is going to withdraw, then let's all go home now,' remarks one unhappy young First Infantry Division soldier, a fairly typical Middle American."



GETTING MESSAGE. Vietnamese liberation fighters have sought to help GIs understand they have no stake in this war. Pentagon now concedes antiwar sentiment is deep and widespread in armed forces.

Explaining the effect of Black GIs arriving in Vietnam "already radicalized by racial tensions at home," *Newsweek* reports: "In at least two combat divisions, Black Panther cells now flourish, actively carrying on clandestine recruiting and spreading propaganda against the 'white man's war.'"

The article shows the impact the mass

antiwar demonstrations in the U.S. have had on the troops in Vietnam. Since the Oct. 15 Moratorium, the rate of incidents of dissent has increased dramatically. *Newsweek* lists several of these, including an attempt by GIs to organize an antiwar demonstration in front of Saigon's main cathedral.

And last Christmas, it reports, "when Bob Hope wound up his annual holiday show by assuring the GIs that President Nixon had a plan to end the war, about a third of the 10,000 troops in the audience burst into loud booing."

Morale is so low, says one career Navy officer, that "Now I spend half my time worrying about it." In fact, the article continues, "one senior CIA official recently returned to Washington from Saigon more fearful of a 'break-down' in the U.S. Army than of a new Tet offensive."

According to *Newsweek*, such fears are well-founded. "Indeed, virtually all the experts agree that the antiwar movement in the armed forces will expand its disruptive potential as more and more young college men are brought into military service."

One Nixon administration official is quoted as saying, "Unless we handle things properly, there is a definite chance that the present ripple of dissent in the services could grow into a tidal wave."

This article provides new and encouraging proof of the rapid growth of organized and organizable antiwar opposition within the armed forces. The civilian antiwar movement must do whatever it can in its spring actions to strengthen its links with GIs and help them organize their opposition into the tidal wave the Pentagon so rightly fears.

... Bejar on guerrilla struggle

(Continued from page 9)

"The Socialist Revolution is the first change that requires the active participation of the people as a whole. Without this participation it is illusory to count on a revolutionary triumph.

"While being an indispensable requisite for victory, the people at the same time constitute the best safeguard against any deformation of the Revolution. The peasant and proletarian masses, without whose collaboration no revolutionary war is possible in Peru, must raise up their own leaders and engage in reaching their own decisions.

"In bringing this process to a successful conclusion, the premature creation of a political party is a serious obstacle.

"If the party is created *before* [emphasis in original] the guerrilla war is initiated, it is rapidly converted into an organization with its own group interests and gives rise to a leadership that likewise has its own interests. The overall interests of the organization, or the particular ones of its leadership, often come into contradiction with the needs of the Revolution in countries like ours, where parties arise, not from the exploited majority, but from privileged layers, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, separated from the exploited masses as a whole.

"The contradictions are not long in becoming expressed in repeated postponements of the revolutionary time schedule, delaying of tasks, egoism of the organization, sectarianism, and an incendiary verbalism that does not correspond to actual conduct.

"Often the party must use an 'insurrectional' language to satisfy the ranks and attract new adherents. In reality it develops an activity aimed exclusively at controlling the organizations of the students and workers from above.

"Isn't this, in reality, the traditional politics refurbished with a 'new' language?

"When the pressure of the members requires turning to real revolutionary tasks, an ideological and political fight is not long in appearing. Then the revolutionary perspective is lost in a tangle of internal struggles. And the revolutionary tasks are again postponed in the name of a struggle against opportunism."

The author then deals with problems that presumably arise when a prematurely formed party attempts to engage in guerrilla struggles, outlining the position of the ELN on this question. He repeats his main conclusion:

"A prematurely formed party is always an obstacle, a fence put up between the masses and the revolution. What is required is not to call on the masses to follow a party but to construct a party among the masses themselves.

"If a party is born from the peasantry and the proletariat, after a long process of struggle in which the revolutionists and the exploited have united into a single phalanx, the exploited will themselves have succeeded in forming a genuine vanguard."

Béjar's theory that a party formed at any time except in the hour of armed struggle is almost certainly doomed to degenerate because it has its own group interests and

gives rise to a leadership with its own particular interests, both of them in contradiction to the revolutionary interests of the exploited layers of the population, is hardly something new. As a matter of fact, it is the theme developed in great detail by Robert Michels in *Political Parties*, which was published in . . . 1911. Michels drew his conclusions principally from his observations of the Social Democracy in its period of degeneration.

Béjar's conclusion that the degeneration of the party can be avoided by the expedient of not organizing it prior to the stage of armed struggle is not very consistent. The anarchists are more logical in arguing that the best safeguard is not to organize a party at all, but to rely exclusively on the "deed" or on armed struggle. The anarchist record, particularly in Spain, shows of course how much worth can be placed in the logic of the anarchists when it comes to practice.

But let us come to the key question. If Béjar is correct, what happens to Lenin's contribution with regard to the role of a combat party in bringing a revolutionary struggle to a successful conclusion? Let us recall the not unimportant item that Lenin in *practice* refuted both Michels and the anarchists.

The failure of Béjar to consider Lenin's contribution in this field is perhaps the most glaring omission in his entire study of the 1965 guerrilla experience in Peru. Does Béjar consider Lenin to have been proved wrong? If so, why not say it? And try to explain why, in the world of today, Lenin should be disregarded as . . . "traditionalist."

Perhaps Béjar has not made up his mind on this point. On the other hand, nowhere in Béjar's study is to be found anything approaching Lenin's concept of the party as the general staff of the revolution.

Although he does not state it, one wonders if he equates Stalinism and Leninism. Or equates both Stalinism and Leninism with political parties in general. Perhaps what he is really doing is generalizing from his own unhappy experience with the Stalinized Communist party in Peru, to which he counterposes his hope that guerrilla struggle per se is so efficacious that if carried out correctly on the tactical level, the building of a revolutionary-socialist party can be relegated to a level of fifth-rate importance.

To consider a Stalinist-type party as a fence separating the masses from the revolution is accurate, if inadequate. But it is not correct to conclude from this that the same holds true for a Leninist-type party. Such a party functions as a political general staff for the masses in their struggle. It is precisely the absence of such a political general staff that has made victory exceedingly difficult in Peru.

Hugo Blanco saw this very clearly during the 1961-62 upsurge. It is to be hoped that the survivors of the 1965 guerrilla defeat will reach a similar conclusion as they deepen their critical appraisal of their own effort. This could prove to be decisive in the next great upsurge, which may come sooner than the political representatives of the oligarchy and imperialism fear or the revolutionary leaders now in prison dare hope.

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Fear of recession tumbles stocks

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 3—Prices on the New York Stock Exchange took their worst weekly loss in six months, last week. The market dropped 28 points following President Nixon's Jan. 22 "State of the Union Message" and it failed to rally after the announcement of Nixon's proposed 1971 budget.

By Friday, Jan. 31, the Dow Jones industrial average had fallen to 744, its lowest point in six years.

Perhaps more than any other economic "indicator," the prices on the stock exchange reflect deep-seated apprehensions in the financial world about the U. S. economic and political situation.

Nixon's 1970 "Economic Report to Congress," made public on Feb. 2, promises: a "balanced budget"; and an economy that will "remain sluggish" in the first half of this year, but allegedly will not "enter a recession," and will "turn upwards" in the second half of the year.

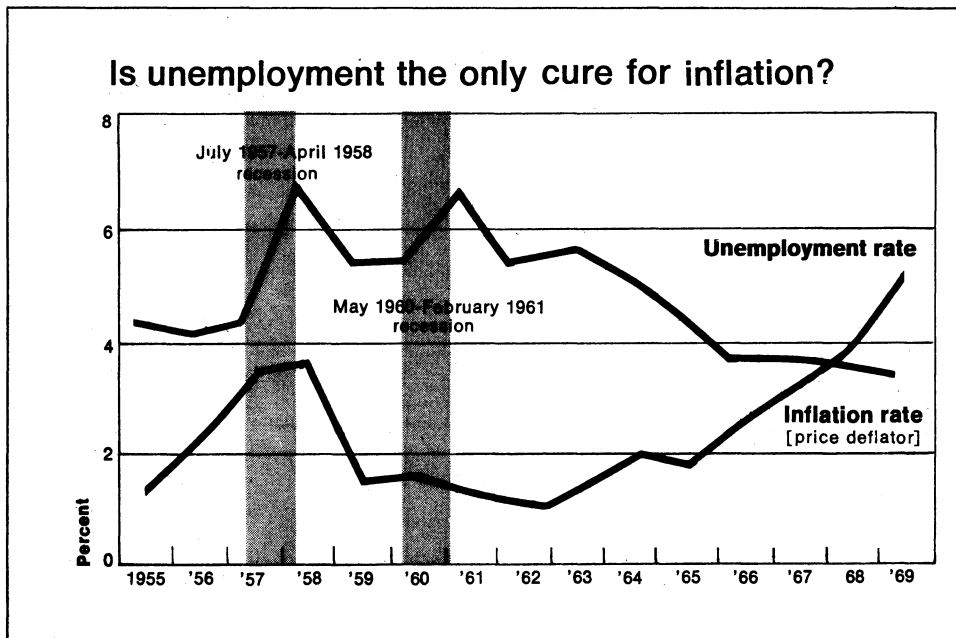
Nixon also said that there is only "low risk" of a "substantial rise" in unemployment.

But this has not convinced investors. For all their claims to expertise, Washington's economic planners have a pretty dismal record to go by, even on their own grounds.

The U. S. economy avoided recessions twice, in 1965 and 1967, but only because of the sharp escalation of the attack on Vietnam. From mid-1965 onwards, the economic advisers to the ruling class have considered inflation the number-one concern. And each year, no matter what their "fiscal" and "monetary" manipulations, the inflation has steadily worsened.

This is because the main forces of the capitalist economy are beyond the control of any individual group of capitalists—and even the capitalist government itself. It is true that they can influence the direction of the economy, but only to a certain extent.

The recessionary measures that Nixon has been following since he took office originated with the Johnson administration over two and one-half years ago. Far from producing a "finely-tuned correction" of the inflation, these measures have produced a money



NOT AN ESOTERIC QUESTION. As Nixon's economic policies have begun to produce layoffs across the nation, there is increasing worry in financial circles about just how deep a recession will be necessary to bring inflation under control.

and credit squeeze of proportions known only twice previously in U. S. history: before the War of 1812 and before the Civil War.

The outcome is far from certain. The *Wall Street Journal* has pointed to increasing worries of a credit collapse, possibly on the scale of 1929. The chief economist for the nation's largest brokerage house, A. Gary Shilling of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, gives a 60 percent to 70 percent chance of a "major recession" with a 25 percent drop in corporate profits and 6 percent unemployment. (*New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1969.)

Layoffs are increasing rapidly in the heavily overproduced auto industry, and in military aircraft and space, hit by government cutbacks.

But there is only one way changes in the economic situation can end up actually retarding the inflation. A Brookings Institution economist explained it in one sentence; he was quoted by *Business Week*, Jan. 31: "The deflationary process runs, as does inflation, from unemployment, to wages, to prices."

What he meant was that a slowdown

in the rate of price increases requires higher unemployment. When many workers are laid off, those who do have jobs are less likely to fight for higher wages. And at the same time those who are out of work for long periods, are more likely to take lower paying jobs.

The consequent shrinking market for consumer goods thus occurs at the same time there is a general lowering of real wages. The additional profits derived from this can allow capitalists to cut prices in the competition for shrinking markets.

This mechanism of the capitalist economy, which Marx long ago labeled "increasing the reserve army of the unemployed," is the only way the capitalist economy can "suffer" significant lowering of price levels.

It can hardly be doubted that Nixon's promise to combat the inflation without substantial unemployment was dismissed as oratory for public consumption by those in the know. But it is another question how deeply the recession will have to cut into the ranks of the employed before the inflation is brought under control.

When it comes down to the individual monopolist combine, the administration's "game plan" falls apart. In the context of intensified domestic and international competition, a threat of shrinking markets under recession can cause the monopolies to *raise prices rather than lower them*, in order to increase the profit margins on the fewer goods that are sold.

How many workers will have to lose their jobs before price increases are brought down to tolerable limits? The question is by no means unimportant to the capitalist ruling class, when its government has already suffered an historic crisis of confidence—if one measures this only by the "credibility gap."

The prospect of heavy unemployment, above all among Blacks, women and young people—a process that has already started in Motor City—is hardly favorable, either to Washington or Wall Street.

The stock market itself also reflects "technical" factors in the economy. When interest rates are high, and corporations are threatened with profit declines, investment funds are drawn out of stocks into high-interest bearing bonds. And any hints of a move by the government to lower interest rates, thus causing an easing of the money supply, would rally the stock market.

Nevertheless, there is one further factor weighing down on stock prices that has not been removed—and it is the most important one: the war in Vietnam.

Nixon's policies of indefinite occupation of Vietnam, more and more exposed by the escalation of the attack on Laos and the patent fraudulence of the "Vietnamization" plan, mean that on top of an already bleak economic situation there is the prospect of more and more unpopular war.

War, inflation and recession. That is not a bright future—even for the class that profits by it. In fact, it could add up to the most serious social crisis of American imperialism since the great depression and its explosive aftermath in the mighty upsurge of industrial labor.

Boston: Women of 3 generations discuss liberation

BOSTON—Women representing three generations of activists in the women's liberation movement spoke to a capacity crowd of 125 at the Militant Labor Forum here Jan. 30. It was probably the first such meeting, where women whose lives span seven decades of struggle—from 1900 to 1970—came together to discuss the oppression of women and problems of women's liberation.

Florence Luscomb, suffragette and fighter for women's rights, was guest chairwoman and speaker. She is known throughout the Boston and New England area as a socialist, an activist for civil liberties and civil rights, and an antiwar activist. Her collection of personal papers and publications on the woman suffrage movement are in the women's archives at Radcliffe College.

Miss Luscomb briefly recounted the long struggle of women to obtain the vote and told of the difficulties women had to face in their struggle for higher education and the right to jobs, professions and decent pay. She spoke of the hardships endured by Lucy Stone, the first woman to get a college education, and the struggle of the Blackwell sisters, the first women to be educated for the medical profession and the ministry.

As one of the older generation of women fighters, Florence Luscomb expressed enthusiasm for the growing interest among women today in women's

liberation and solidarized herself with their determination to organize women to struggle.

Toba Leah Singer of the Young Socialist Alliance, a woman of the younger generation now involved in the liberation movement, has been active in the women's movement at Boston University, both as a student and as a secretary at the Boston Law School Library. She recently wrote a series of articles in the *B. U.* [Boston University] *News* on the oppression of women.

Toba Singer discussed the reactionary role which the family plays in capitalist society, as well as the problems which all women face due to the lack of adequate contraception and the prohibitive abortion legislation.

Toba Singer also discussed a program, authored and initiated by her, for the creation of a women's center at Boston University. The center would replace the present dean of women's apparatus and would serve the welfare of both women students and employees at B. U. It would have a gynecological staff, and the perspective of recruiting women into fields of education and employment where they have traditionally been discouraged. Her program also calls for equal pay for equal work, day-care centers for students and employees, support to the fight for free access to birth control information, and courses in female history and self-defense.

Augusta Trainor, who has been ac-

tive in the socialist and trade union movements for over 30 years, became interested in women's liberation in the 1930s at the age of 19. She received her first education from suffragettes and socialist women who had been active in women's struggles. She was among those women who first fought for ma-



Toba Leah Singer (left) at Young Socialist convention women's liberation panel.

ternity benefits and equal pay for women to be included in union contracts. As a working mother of two children, she was involved in the fight against closing government-subsidized nurseries after World War II. She is currently active in women's liberation in Boston and is giving classes on women's history.

Analyzing the role of the family in class society today, Augusta Trainor pointed out, "When women rebel and demand a different kind of life, they strike at the very heart of one of the bulwarks of American capitalism—the family. . . . The revolt of women can strike a serious blow to capitalism. Not only because of her role in maintaining the family but because she is part of the working class. Her role in society must be viewed from the premise that she is part of the socioeconomic and productive forces in society—not in some special category because she reproduces the species."

She discussed the problems of working women, and supported women's caucuses already forming in some unions. Expressing confidence in the role of women workers in women's liberation she commented, "I have seen working women fight for what they want. I have been on picket lines and fought grievances in the shop. . . . When the issues demand action, she will be in the forefront, in the leadership, fighting for her demands."

Hanoi points to Nixon fraud

'Vietnamization' means long war

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 4—The North Vietnamese government and the National Liberation Front believe that President Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies are completely fraudulent and incapable of completion.

They have asserted through official and unofficial channels that they are prepared to fight "for many years more" to force the total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

They continue to insist that a U.S. pledge of total withdrawal is a necessary prerequisite for negotiations on the future government of South Vietnam. They see Nixon's policies of token withdrawals as just the opposite of such a pledge.

These expressions of Hanoi and the NLF's estimate of the present status of the war coincide with the reopening of hearings and a reappraisal of administration war policies by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Significantly, the Foreign Relations Committee appraisal appears to confirm on a number of points the analysis presented by Hanoi. Both see Nixon's war policies as fundamentally no different from those followed by the Johnson administration.

Vietnamization is "a semantic hoax," Senator Harold E. Hughes (D-Iowa)

stated. "What it denotes is simply an extension of the Johnson foreign policy."

But the Foreign Relations Committee has offered no basic criticism of Nixon's policies nor has it presented any alternatives. In fact, Foreign Relations Committee spokesmen have let it be known that they are "shifting from a critical to an analytical approach with the new administration," the *New York Times* reported from Washington, Feb. 2.

Whatever their political motivations, however, the senators have issued a report in official circles, the published parts of which offer a devastating critique of Nixon's avowed war goals.

This report asserts that total withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam and complete "Vietnamization" of the war are unrealistic goals in the near future, if ever. The war "appears to be not only far from won but far from over," according to the committee report.

It questions whether the Saigon army could withstand a heavy attack if U.S. troops are withdrawn. It suggests that even if Saigon forces undertake the bulk of battlefield combat, indefinite U.S. occupation along the lines of the "Korean solution" will still be necessary.

Hanoi's position on the war was expressed by Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party, in a speech celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party, delivered in Hanoi, Feb. 1.

"So long as the U.S. imperialists remain stubborn and unwilling to recognize the fundamental national rights of our people," Le Duan said, "we must fight on to sweep them away. Our people must be prepared to fight many years more and fight until the enemy gives up his aggressive design, brings home his troops, and respects the sovereignty of our people and the territorial integrity of our country." (*New York Times*, Feb. 3.)

A thorough analysis of Hanoi and NLF viewpoints on the war was contained in an article by Richard J. Barnet, in the Jan. 29 *New York Review of Books*. Barnet held a series of conversations with Hanoi and NLF leaders in Hanoi last November. Senator J. W. Fulbright, Foreign Relations Committee chairman, entered this article in the *Congressional Record*, Jan. 20, p. S 196.

Barnet contends that the North Viet-



Senator Wm. Fulbright

namese position in Paris has been repeatedly misstated by U.S. officials. The North Vietnamese "do not insist and have not insisted for many months that all U.S. troops be withdrawn in advance of political negotiations on the political future of South Vietnam. But they do insist the U.S. make a credible commitment to leave. . . .

"Nixon's withdrawal plan is seen in Hanoi as an intention to stay, not leave. . . . Negotiators from the Johnson administration now confirm that the North Vietnamese were saying the same thing over a year ago. . . .

"Pham Van Dong [North Vietnamese premier] calls 'Vietnamization' America's 'Grand Design' to win the war. The strategy, as he sees it, is calculated to convince Hanoi that the U.S. is prepared to outlast them in a long war of attrition.

"In his view, Nixon is giving the following signal: 'I will reduce U.S. forces in Vietnam to a level which the American people will accept and these forces will be used to keep the present South Vietnamese regime in power for years to come.'"

Barnet reported that he related this

to a "high State Department official." The official replied, "Well, they got the message."

Hanoi is "certain that the Vietnamization strategy cannot work," Barnet continues. "When enough U.S. combat troops leave, the NLF will rout the South Vietnamese army just as it did before the U.S. troops arrived."

And it appears to be this point which most troubles the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The *Wall Street Journal* quoted the following key part of the committee report:

"No one [in the U.S. military command] has the slightest idea whether the enemy will attack in force during the time the U.S. is in the process of withdrawing combat forces in order to accelerate the American withdrawal, shake confidence in the South Vietnamese government, demoralize the army, and disrupt pacification."

The *Wall Street Journal* (Feb. 2) adds, "The report concludes rather gloomily that all theorists seem to agree that 'the choice lies with the enemy'—and not with the allies."

It is not much to say for eight years of horrendous slaughter launched by the most sophisticated counterrevolutionary military machine ever concocted by man. But then—a point which seems to have escaped the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—the forces of right are on the other side.

For the antiwar movement, the "message" that emerges from these revelations is crystal clear: We must redouble our efforts to bring an immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Nixon's phony withdrawal pretensions are leading the nation into unlimited war, a war that is obviously a death trap for the young man on the battlefield.

The loss of 40,000 troops has not brought U.S. imperialism one step closer to its goal and there is not one shred of evidence that Washington will view the situation any differently when the death list passes the 50,000, 60,000 or 100,000 mark.

"Vietnamization" is but one more name for a murderous "war of attrition." Genocide or withdrawal? We don't need "signals" from Washington and its loyal opposition to answer that one.

SWP-YSA open a new hall in Chicago

By RICK FEINBERG

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance kicked off a new decade of revolutionary activity Jan. 30 with a banquet celebrating the opening of a new headquarters here. Members of the SWP and YSA worked over a month preparing the hall for the grand opening.

The keynote address was delivered by Marxist scholar George Novack who spoke on "The Science of Revolution and the Art of Making It."

Novack concluded his talk by presenting the concrete example of how revolutionary Marxism has been put into practice in the struggle against the war in Vietnam. He explained how the YSA and the SWP had to go through repeated battles over a period of years before the concepts of mass action around the demand for immediate withdrawal and involving GIs in antiwar activities were vindicated by the course of events and have come to be accepted as basic tenets by the majority of participants in the antiwar movement.

A live band and light show provided the entertainment for the party that followed.

The new address of the Chicago SWP and YSA is: 180 North Wacker Drive.

GI coffeehouse shut down

By JOE COLE

COLUMBIA, S. C.—In a frontal attack against radical and antiwar activity, city authorities (with the eager encouragement of Ft. Jackson brass) have closed the UFO Coffeehouse and arrested its staff.

Under eight counts of violation of morals and nuisance ordinances, four UFO staff members were jailed Jan. 13 and face possible 10-year sentences. According to Merle Ferre, one of those arrested, bail has been set at \$7,500 apiece, and two staffers, Duane Ferre and Lenny Cohen, who are unable to meet their bonds, remain in jail.

Based on the arrest of the UFO staff, Judge Harry Agnew issued an order on Jan. 15 permanently closing the UFO as an "establishment frequented by persons of evil name."

As a typical southern Army town, Columbia abounds with segregated "private" bars, prostitution, and a heavy drug trade. It is somewhat surprising, then, that the UFO, which allows neither segregation, prostitution or drugs, should be singled out as a moral nuisance. What is clear is that the good judge's "evil name" theory is a cover-up for political intimidation. Operating on this premise, students and

GIs have moved to challenge the makers of South Carolina "justice" on this issue.

After the UFO was padlocked, 200 pickets descended on City Hall, and this action was soon followed by a large rally at the University of South Carolina where attorney Mark Lane and Dr. Howard Levy spoke. After the rally, there was a march of 600 people, including a delegation of 75 GIs representing five bases.

Support has been solid from the radical and liberal community, and the potential for even broader and expanded support was recently shown when the Columbia Ministerial Association issued a statement cautioning against persecution for dissent.

The ACLU has entered the case, and immediate defense plans center around the release of the two staffers still in jail. Further legal plans include obtaining federal orders to reopen the UFO and to restrain the city from prosecution.

Meanwhile, arrangements are being made to locate a new site for the UFO. Contributions to the UFO and to the legal defense of those indicted may be sent to UFO Offense Committee, Box 1197, Columbia, S. C. 29201.

Betty Shabazz talks on meaning of militancy

By MAREEN JASIN

PHILADELPHIA — What's wrong with the word "militancy"? This question provided the theme of the talk, "Why Black Militancy," given by Mrs. Betty Shabazz at the YM-YWHA Jan. 27.

Before an audience of over 1,000 mostly young, Betty Shabazz began with a quote from her slain husband, Malcolm X: ". . . the most difficult thing for this generation of youth today is to think for themselves . . . to question attitudes, rights, society, as they existed and exist today."

Taking "militant" as an example of a word which is used to distort or falsify facts and events, Mrs. Shabazz stated, "Militancy is a good word, proud word . . . but it is taken by the press and made into a scare word." And, "Black militancy is used to mean violence, ugliness, to strike terror in people's minds."

She said that throughout history no ethnic group is without militancy, and "if it's not wrong for others to have militancy then it's not wrong for Blacks."

"Does using self-defense mean violence? Is having a goal, feeling, objectives, wrong?" she asked. Continuing, "Black people who for centuries and still today have endured injustice and exploitation are seeking self-determination, and there is nothing wrong with that."

Using the example of the Vietnamese who are involved in a war for self-determination using self-defense, Mrs. Shabazz said: "They have strong determination plus equipment with which to defend themselves."

At an earlier meeting, Betty Shabazz spoke to approximately 250 women on "Women in the Movement." She said that women were in a rut, yet no one seems to know why. In discussion with this reporter, she said she had no opinion on the women's liberation movement as she didn't know enough about it; she pointed out that she happens to lead quite an active life—mother of six children, involved in four PTA groups, traveling and speaking nationally and internationally, studying anthropology and floral design for relaxation.

To my question of what has been the biggest change since Malcolm X's death, she answered, "It is probably the determination of young people . . . their willingness to struggle and not give up."

The settlement of the GE strike

By MARVEL SCHOLL

FEB.2—Last week the 12-union coalition that held out for 14 long weeks against one of America's most powerful corporations emerged victorious. For the first time in years, General Electric was unable to pit one union against the other to force contract settlements on its terms. This would in itself be a victory, without adding wage gains and fringe benefits totaling a reported \$1.05 over three years.

The strike began last Oct. 27. Of the 147,000 GE workers, the company itself claims that only about 3,000 responded to its call for a back-to-work movement.

Significantly, for the first time since the United Electrical Workers (Independent) was forced out of the AFL-CIO in 1949 on witch-hunt charges of "Communist domination," this smaller union was included within the union bargaining coalition, as were two other independents, the UAW and the Teamsters.

The International Union of Electrical Workers, formed by a right wing of the expelled UE, claims 88,500 members employed by the corporation and the UE, 16,000, with the balance of the 147,000 strikers spread around among 10 other unions, the largest number being in the Machinists.

According to union statisticians, wage gains under the new pact, including the cost-of-living clause, are:

- An immediate general wage increase of 20 cents an hour; a second-year increase of 15 cents, effective 13 months after the first increase; and a third year increase of 15 cents effective 14 months after the second raise.

- A three cent-an-hour cost-of-living adjustment effective with the first general increase, three further adjustments—1970-71-72—of one cent an hour for each 0.3 percent increase in the Consumers Price Index during the preceding year. The maximum adjustment in any year would be 8 cents.

- An improved pension schedule raising the present minimum of \$5 a month for each year of service to \$6.50 by Jan. 1, 1973.

- A hundred percent coverage of hospital expenses up to 365 days of confinement in a calendar year.

Previously, hospitalization cost the worker the first \$25 with the insurance covering the next \$500 in full, and

Media workers protest gov't using news files

NEW YORK—Several hundred demonstrators marched in pouring rain in front of the CBS building here at noon Feb. 2. They were protesting CBS's transfer of news tapes to the FBI. The government has subpoenaed CBS to turn over all tapes, films, notes, memos, etc., dealing with the Black Panther Party. CBS has agreed to turn over tapes of interviews with Panther leaders David Hilliard and Eldridge Cleaver and has indicated willingness to "negotiate" on the other material.

The demonstration was cosponsored by the Media Project and the Media Mobilization, groups of militants working in this city's magazine, newspaper, TV, radio, and book-publishing industries.

In a leaflet they appealed to employees of CBS and other media to join in protesting this corporate collaboration with government repression.

"Our bosses use fear of being fired, competition for promotion, professionalism, 'value-free objectivity,' to keep us in line. The jobs we do—the news we gather, the tapes we cut, the films we shoot, the records we type—will be used to jail and murder black people and other Americans fighting for freedom. It's time we all get together and refuse to be 'good Germans.'"



NEW YORK ACTION. Pickets at GE's New York office. SMC played key role in mobilizing campus against GE as a major war profiteer.

85 percent of any amount beyond that.

- After Jan. 1, 1971, the employee's contribution to his life insurance will be assumed by the corporation.

- Sick pay and vacation time benefits were improved. A worker will get four weeks vacation after 15 years and five weeks after 30 years, effective Jan. 1, 1971.

The 12-union coalition had originally demanded an increase of 35 cents an hour for the first year of a three-year contract, 30 cents the second year and 25 cents in the third.

They had also sought an additional 50 cents an hour for skilled workers and an unlimited escalator clause to keep wages in line with increased prices.

As yet, there is no information on the geographical equalization of wages demanded by the unions, nor on the

settlement of disputed local issues. The demand for a union shop was dropped.

Both the IUE and the UE are now in process of submitting the new contract to membership ratification. A conference of delegates from local unions voted today on the pact. An IUE spokesman said its conference board had voted 36,000 to 22,000 to accept the agreement. UE spokesmen said the vote in favor of the pact was a "big majority."

IUE also announced its direct membership vote so far as 36,768 for and 22,220 against, with 30,000 members still to be heard from. A spokesman said, "I don't think it was expected that the vote would be that close."

So far the only local union reported turning down the settlement is the IUE local at Schenectady, N. Y. Leaders of that local said the 2,500 workers who

voted turned down the pact by a huge majority.

In the case of unions other than IUE and UE, contract negotiations with GE remain to be completed.

General Electric, fronting for all industry, had attempted to have multi-plant bargaining declared an unfair labor practice. However, the NLRB turned down their petitions. Both the auto and steel unions use the multi-plant bargaining methods.

Albert Fitzgerald, president of UE, and Albert Matles, secretary-treasurer, issued a statement in which they described the new agreement as "the first negotiated agreement with GE in 20 years. The six previous agreements have been imposed on the union, not negotiated . . . the result is a settlement which guarantees improved economic and contractual gains for GE employees."

This was a long, bitter strike, with strikers in many states denied either unemployment compensation or welfare by pro-employer state governments. But the workers had support from the entire labor movement, something almost unprecedented in the past two decades. The AFL-CIO raised a fund for weekly assistance to the strikers. The UAW and the Teamsters, both of whom have members employed by GE and who were a part of the coalition, gave financial help. Thus, with at least minimum subsistence for their families, the strikers were able to hold out.

A significant morale-building factor was the support that came from the student and antiwar movement. Students in several instances forced GE recruiters off campus. An end to university purchases of GE products was demanded. Students helped on picket lines and distributed leaflets urging a boycott of GE products.

In the face of contract negotiations during 1970 affecting more than 5 million workers in every basic industry except Big Steel, the victory of the GE workers must be sending chills down the backs of government and industry.

Troubling the waters by pouring oil

By ROBERT LANGSTON

The Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute's research ship *Chain* was making a biological survey of the Sargasso Sea. The project involved dragging nets over a 540-mile stretch of open sea to the south and just west of Bermuda to get a sampling of the rich flora and fauna. But the scientists aboard the *Chain* made an interesting discovery. Within four hours after they threw out a net, they had to pull it in and clean it because it had become clogged with oil and tar. Tar chunks up to two inches thick became enmeshed in the webbing. And about 500 miles southwest of Bermuda, the operation had to be suspended altogether because of the oil.

No shipping lanes cross the virtually impenetrable Sargasso Sea, and of course there is no petroleum or industrial production within hundreds of miles. But the center of the great North Atlantic current system is close to the point where the pollution was worst. Evidently, the gooey stuff had been carried by the currents and then collected in their whorl.

There is a beach on the Antilles island of Barbados—far from shipping lanes and seldom visited by ships—that is fouled with oil and tar.

Petroleum pollution, which knows no national or regional boundaries, may be destroying an important future source of food.

Dr. Max Blumer, senior chemist at the Woods Hole Institute who reported the *Chain's* experience, is convinced that oil spillages have by now affected all the world's oceans. Global crude oil production is about two billion tons a year, and some 60 percent of this is transported by sea.

Blumer estimates that over a million tons ends up in the oceans each year simply from leaks, accidental spillage and "normal" tank-flushing operations. But, he says, if production "accidents" like the notorious Santa Barbara leak and industrial dumping are taken into consideration, anywhere from 10 to 100 million tons of petroleum are probably thrown into the oceans each year.

Carried by currents and winds, the pollutants spread through the sea waters of the entire earth, and they enter the food chains of the seas' living creatures. Because most petroleum constituents are chemically highly stable, they last a long time in the food chains and rapidly accumulate. This progressive concentration of hydrocarbons may have incalculable effects on the balance of nature in the seas. And they turn up in ever higher concentrations in the sea food eaten by humans. Some of these compounds are strongly suspected of causing cancer.

Aside from accidents—most of which are, in reality, only accidents in the sense that no one consciously wills them; they happen because it is cheaper to capitalists to let them happen rather than to take adequate precautions against them—there are quite deliberately undertaken production procedures that pollute the seas with oil.

One is picturesquely called "emptying it into the big tank." An off-shore well may be producing crude of such poor quality that it does not pay the capitalist to transport it ashore to be refined, but there may be reason to think that with further production, the quality will improve. Under these circumstances, the temptation is very strong simply to flow the crude into the ocean, and this is frequently done.

Another common source of pollution from off-shore wells comes from procedures used in completing them. When a well is brought in, tons of muck—at point of completion, heavily oil laden—has to be cleaned out of the casing so the oil can flow freely. Legally, it is supposed to be siphoned out and carried away. But it is much faster and cheaper simply to blow it out of the casing—and into the surrounding waters—under pressure. Needless to say, despite all the laws protecting the off-shore waters, wells are often brought in this way.

The point is quite simple. A powerful popular movement can retard the ravaging of the seas by capitalist greed. But in the long run there is no way to prevent the destruction of the oceans by petroleum pollution as long as oil production and transport is carried on for private profit. And there is no way any nation can avoid harm to the sea waters it depends on as long as there are capitalist countries where profits are more important than survival.

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Tenn. students fight ouster of antiwar prof

By WANDA WOODBY
and JOEL ABER

JOHNSON CITY, Tenn. — A massive defense effort has been launched by students at East Tennessee State University to win the reinstatement of Professor Luis Serron who was fired by the ETSU administration after he spoke at the Oct. 15 antiwar moratorium here. Hundreds of signatures on a petition demanding Serron's reinstatement have already been gathered in the opening days of the defense campaign, with broad student government and faculty support.

Ordinarily no university administration can fire a fully tenured faculty member, but the ETSU administration found its pretext in a Tennessee state law that gives "insubordination" as sufficient grounds for dismissal of public employees. On Nov. 24, the dean of faculty informed Serron that he had been "insubordinate" by his failure to attend a sociology department faculty meeting Oct. 15, the same time that he spoke at a campus antiwar moratorium action. Even non-tenured faculty members who have been absent from faculty meetings have not been fired for their actions.

The university administration has even denied Serron the right to a hearing by his peers and the right to confront his accusers. The local chapter of the American Association of University

Professors and ACLU chapters in Tennessee have strongly condemned this denial of Serron's fundamental rights — rights which are generally considered inviolable for all tenured professors.

Professor Serron may have first aroused the ire of the administration when he received a letter from the sociology department chairman urging him to give money to the United Fund. Serron sent back a memo pointing out that the United Fund serves certain political ends, and explaining his belief that a worthier goal is building support for an end to the Vietnam war; therefore, Serron's memo concluded, he would donate to the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam instead of the United Fund.

University officials also reproached Serron for permitting his students to leave class to attend moratorium activities. They quickly dropped this line of attack after Serron pointed out that students are permitted to leave class to attend Homecoming Day pep rallies.

Pressure to fire Serron apparently originated at the highest levels in local and state politics. After his Oct. 15 speech, a letter demanding that Serron be dismissed appeared in the local newspapers, signed by Mae Rose McDowell, a local foundry owner and former Johnson City mayor, reputedly the wealthiest person in the area.

Shortly thereafter, reactionary Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington issued an ominous warning that "dissent" is all right within the state university system but not "disloyalty." The governor demanded an "investigation" of any faculty member who had made any speech that might be construed as disloyal. The ACLU condemned Ellington's statement as a blatant attack on the First Amendment right of free speech.

Letters demanding the reinstatement of Luis Serron should be sent to D. P. Culp, President, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tenn., and to Gov. Buford Ellington, Nashville, Tenn., with copies to the defense committee, P.O. Box 07668, ETSU, Johnson City, Tenn.



Bosses seek more rights for union brass

1970 promises to be a most interesting year. Contract negotiations covering more than five million workers in all basic industry except large steel are either under way or scheduled soon. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce predicts that there will be an "all-out labor-management slug-fest" which will result in a record number of strikes.

"There is every indication that labor will be willing to take management to the ropes to get what it wants," the Chamber's biweekly *Washington Report* said Jan. 31.

In anticipation of such a "slug-fest," a presidential commission has recommended to construction workers that they give their negotiators binding power to negotiate with the construction industry.

"The whole concern here is to avert the growing rejection of contracts by the rank and file."

Immediately, a spokesman for the AFL-CIO building and construction trades department agreed to the proposition. "Our people approved it." (What "people" was he talking about — the top bureaucracy of the 17 unions in the building and construction trades department, or the 3.5 million workers they purportedly represent?)

This proposal to give union officials the power to negotiate and sign contracts covering wages, hours, working conditions, without fear of rank-and-file rejection, is intended to compensate for the diminishing ability of the union bureaucrats to force unsatisfactory set-

The National Picketline

lements on their memberships.

Proponents of this kind of power for union negotiators argue that if the ranks don't like what their officials do they can always change them in the next election. Meanwhile the union members should be compelled to take what the officers give them.

It sounds so very simple. Just throw the bums out. But what these people don't know (or don't want to know) is that it is very far from simple to unseat an established bureaucracy. Most international union constitutions are so written as to practically guarantee that the ins shall remain in and the outs will stay out. In Joseph Curran's National Maritime Union, for example, no one can be nominated for a national post unless he formerly held one!

The Teamsters national officials are not elected directly by the membership, but by convention delegates, most of whom are paid local officials.

Both the United Mine Workers and the Steel Workers require endorsement by a minimum of 50 locals before a name can get placed in nomination for national office.

And now the government, through its Labor Department, wants to give these



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CRATED COMMODITY. Ads like this are among the things increasing the determination of women to end male chauvinism. If you don't get the point, consider your possible reaction to an ad with a Black worker similarly packaged.

Calif. women resist moves to repeal protective laws

By DIANNE FEELEY
*Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for U. S. Senate*

ANTIOCH, Calif. — Women Inc., the militant women's caucus of the Western Pulp and Paper Workers, is fighting a battle against attempts by the Fiberboard Corporation to void California state laws protecting women workers. Claiming that the laws are "discriminatory," Fiberboard has filed suit ask-

ing the courts to grant it immunity from their jurisdiction.

The response of Women Inc. has been to demand that instead of getting rid of the protective laws, they should also be extended to men. Many of these laws already benefit those men who work along side of women in the plants because they cover general working conditions, including ventilation, washing and drinking facilities, safety measures and rest periods.

Repealing protective legislation would mean women workers would be forced to lift heavy weights (a provision now restricts them to weights of 25 pounds and over) and work double shifts or lose their jobs. It would mean a return to sweatshop conditions.

Such conditions are already being imposed on Antioch fiberboard workers. Five women are constantly lifting 150 pounds throughout an eight-hour shift. It was either take the job or be laid off.

At a state hearing on the status of women late last year, representatives from the steel and paper industries pointed out how expensive it would be if laws were extended to cover all male workers. "Just think of how much money we'd lose on the coffee breaks." Among other things, it would mean improving job conditions and installing equipment for heavy lifting.

Women Inc. has reason to believe that the intention of the state is to throw out the protective legislation. A judicial ruling could do this. They have sent telegrams across the nation to government officials, demanding that action be taken now, before it is too late.

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same bureaucracies even more power, and with it, give them a quasi-government status — authority to dictate contract terms to their memberships, backed up by the police powers of the government!

It is no surprise that these so-called "labor leaders" of the building trades favor it. It fits right in with their mentality.

But for the union ranks it would be another blow against trade union democracy and a wedge to extend dictatorial government intervention into internal union affairs — as well as impose lousy contracts on them.

1970 is not the year for the union bureaucracy to realize their dreams of more power. The ranks of labor today are in a militant mood, and the pressure they are putting on the topechelons is very real indeed.

During 1969, the average increase in wages was 4.8 percent. The cost of living went up 6.1 percent during the same period.

Woven like a bright thread throughout all contract proposals is a demand for large wage increases and the return of unlimited cost-of-living clauses to keep wages abreast with rising living costs.

We will put our money on the workers.

Nobody willingly buys a pig in a poke. And that is exactly what the working class would get if it put its trust, with no qualifying restrictions, on the top union leadership in contract negotiations.

— MARVEL SCHOLL

The Great Society

Foolproof system—Contrary to some opinion, the stock market is an integrated component of a lawfully functioning system—the solar system, that is. *Business Week* reports that several astrologers and other like students of the universe peddle costly dope sheets far more accurate than those of the computer boys. A leader in the field is astrologer David Williams who gauges stock prices by the pattern of energy emissions from the solar system. Says Wall Street executive Louis Whitehead: "He's had some remarkably accurate readings. He's not one of those nuts running around."

Holier than she—The Vatican refused to accredit Mrs. Elizabeth Mueller as a commercial envoy from the West German government. By tradition, the Vatican explained, only men hold high-ranking diplomatic posts to the Holy See.

Public health service—We think that federal science panel was absolutely right in recommending to the Dept. of Agriculture that chickens bearing cancer virus be allowed on the market as long as they don't look too repugnant. The committee said that since there were conflicting reports as to the danger of such chicken there was no reason to interfere with sales. They suggested that a wing or leg with a particularly repulsive tumor could be whacked off and used in frankfurters. Which strikes us as a new medical breakthrough. Maybe a small daily dose of chicken tumor in your frank will build up an immunity to cancer.

Looking-glass view—The Mississippi legislature defeated a bill to repeal a state law banning the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution. "These are

Christian statutes," one solon bellowed, "and I believe Christians still are in control of this state." Another asserted that repeal of the anti-evolution law "would make a monkey out of my Creator."

Silent response—"The Silent Majority," the U.S. Information Agency film which purports to establish that Nixon has wide support for his Vietnam policy is getting the silent treatment abroad. Despite instructions to show it, thus far only 26 of 106 posts overseas have actually exhibited the film and of these many showings consisted of selected segments. Potential exhibitors found it either "inappropriate," "untimely" or simply of "no interest."

The welfare state—Wracked by an uncontrollable urge to aid the needy, the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company has offered to provide low-income Maryland families with a \$3.95 monthly telephone service. Outgoing calls would be limited to medical pleas and other emergencies. But the recipients would be allowed to receive an unlimited number of incoming calls.

Rock the cop—"I feel that rock definitely promotes lawlessness among the young because of the pro-drug concentration, pro-free love sexuality and anti-establishment bent," Joe Crow, a self-styled former swing musician, advised a meeting of the San Francisco Committee to Support your Local Police. "There's plenty of other good music young people can turn to," Crow said, "music which glorifies God, like Rock of Ages."

—HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: **Phoenix:** YSA, c/o Steve Strnad, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: **Berkeley:** SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th t., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Turlock: Velley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: **Boulder:** YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: **Gainesville:** YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: **Carbondale:** YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359, 1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: **Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: **Lawrence:** YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

KENTUCKY: **Lexington:** YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Sta., Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MASSACHUSETTS: **Boston:** SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

MICHIGAN: **Ann Arbor:** YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

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Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.

OREGON: **Portland:** YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: **Philadelphia:** SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: **Providence:** YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: **Austin:** Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

UTAH: **Logan:** YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St., Rm 1010 Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-0253.

WASHINGTON: **Cheney:** E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

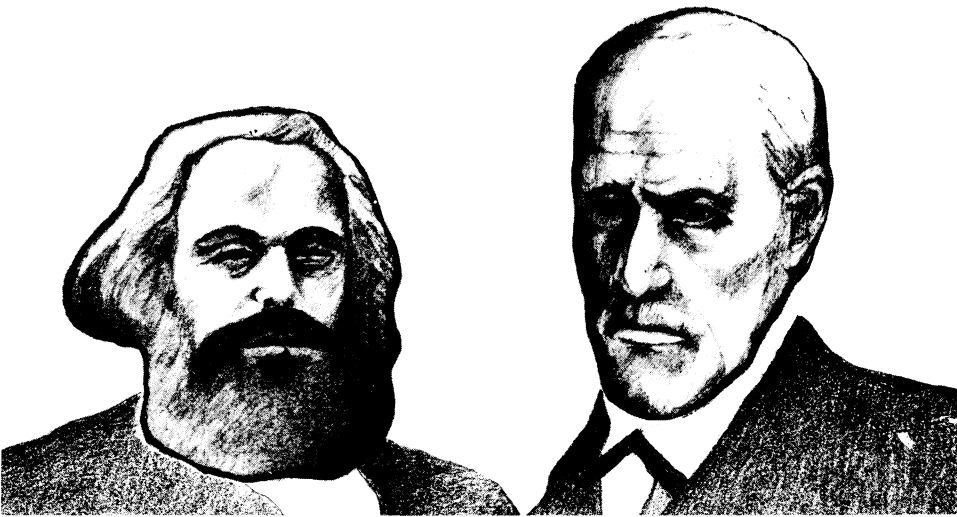
Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: **Madison:** YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Heald, 929 N. Water St., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202. Tel: 679-1428 or 342-3215.

IN PASSING:

Combining Marx and Freud



The effort to unite the political, economic and philosophic ideas of Marx with the psychoanalytic ideas of Freud has been perennial during this century.

Paul A. Robinson's *The Freudian Left* is an admirable contribution to the discussion, which can at the same time serve as an excellent introduction to it.

Robinson traces the intellectual history of Wilhelm Reich, Geza Roheim and Herbert Marcuse. Reich (during his early period) and Marcuse attempt to show the points of connection between psychoanalysis and dialectical materialism. Roheim, however, is not a political radical.

What all three have in common is that they "share the conviction that politics and sexuality are intimately connected with one another. Their radicalism consists of regarding sexual repression as one of the principal mechanisms of political domination."

The point being made by all three concerns the reactionary role of the family in class society. The first form of social conformity demanded of the child is the repression of the child's inherent sexuality—the child is forced to alienate himself from his body. This early and powerful initial alienation opens the mind to a progressively more complete conformity to the norms of the class structure. Thus, political rebellion and liberation is closely tied in with sexual rebellion and liberation.

Between Reich and Marcuse, it is obvious that Robinson has a marked preference for Marcuse. This seems to result in some unfair oversimplification of Reich's views.

A more serious shortcoming, though, is that Robinson knows Reich, Roheim and Marcuse much more thoroughly than he knows Marx. He makes a rather gross error, for example, when he states that Reich's division of history into matriarchal and patriarchal society contradicts Marx.

Obviously, Robinson is not familiar with Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (which was in good part suggested by and contains several quotations from Marx's notebooks) in which the connections between the beginnings of patriarchy and the beginnings of class divisions are the subject of the work.

(*The Freudian Left*, 253 pages, \$1.95, Harper Colophon paperback.)

Until the calamitous blow-up at the convention of the old SDS last June, virtually all of the multitude of "independent" radical publications were essentially expressive of one or another tendency within that organization or were trying to attach themselves to its milieu. Now many of these are searching for some new organized expression of their particular variety of radical politics.

Some are trying to clarify their own political positions through a dialogue with one or more of the remnant formations that came out of the SDS split.

For example, the current issue of *Leviathan* (dated December) carries a long but rather absorbing article by Shin'ya Ono, a strong supporter of the Weatherman faction, which in essence outlines the meteorological world view.

Ono takes us on a trip into a weird world of romantic fantasy, a world which is the very epitome of what Lenin was thinking of when he called ultra-leftism an infantile disorder, a world in which each Weatherman is Jack the Giant Killer.

The Weatherman action in Chicago last October where a few hundred "street fighters" tried to take on the Chicago police force with the expected result of high casualties in clubbings, jail terms, fines, etc., is viewed as a victory.

"Militarily and tactically, it was a victory. . . . Politically, we did establish our presence as a white fighting force in a dramatic way in Chicago and in the surrounding areas. As a result, millions of kids are grappling for the first time with the existence of a pro-black, pro-VC white fighting force that understands that this social order can be, and is going to be, brought down."

Shin'ya Ono is an accomplished writer. He explicates the Weatherman rationale with such a fine style that his article may become something of a minor classic as an exemplification of the pitfalls and ultimate logic of ultraleftism.

(*Leviathan* subs are \$5. Send to *Leviathan*, 249 Mullen Ave., San Francisco, Cal. 94110.

—MALACHI CONSTANT

----- clip and mail -----

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A SOCIALIST WOMAN REPLIES TO DR. SPOCK

Motherhood and male 'superiority'

By RUTHANN MILLER

Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York comptroller

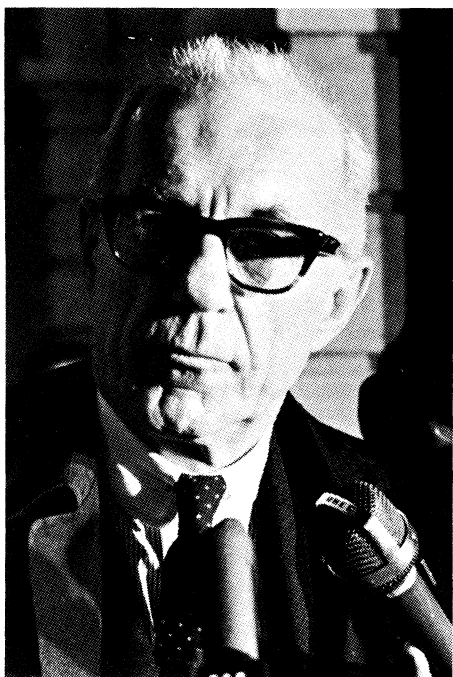
*"I think Blacks are physically designed in a special way in their very muscles and bones."**"Whites are the fighters, the builders, the trap-makers, the one who thinks mechanically and abstractly. Blacks have stayed realistic, personal, more conservative."**"Blacks welcome the fact that whites stay more analytic and cool."*

These are typical of the kind of racist statements made against Black people in this country for centuries, the arguments used to "prove" their inferiority. With the growth of the struggle for Black and Third World liberation, such crude statements of bigotry have become less common, at least in public life.

The ignorance and misconceptions about the oppressed condition of women, however, are still so deep in this society that such a respected and well-known humanitarian as Dr. Benjamin Spock was capable of expressing all the above abysmally backward, chauvinistic views about women.

Go back and reread the quotations at the beginning of this article. They are *almost* word-for-word statements made by Dr. Spock in a Jan. 28 *New York Times* interview where he gives his views on women. I say "almost" because I substituted the word "Blacks" each place he used the word "women" and "whites" each place he used "men" to drive home the meaning of what he is saying.

In the interview, Spock accuses the women's liberation movement and modern women in general of discounting the "exciting and creative" work of rearing children in favor of becoming "over-intellectualized and academic," of stepping out of their role as mothers.

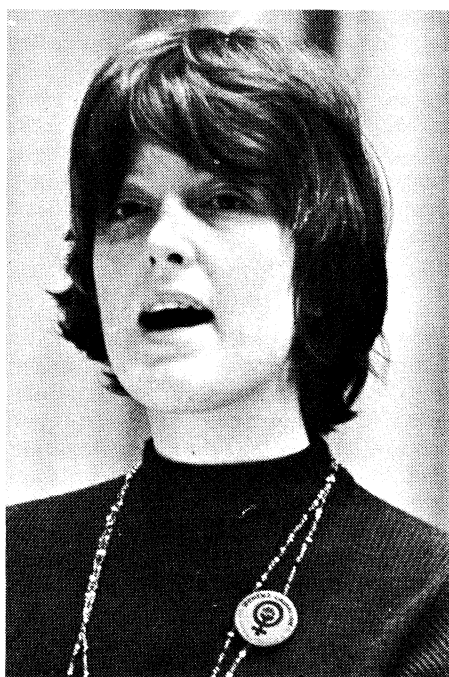


Dr. Benjamin Spock

In his anxiety to argue this point, he even seems to lose a little of the "cool" which he says is so characteristic of men in general. "If our society can get it through its noodle that rearing children is exciting and creative work, we'll have accomplished something useful," he exhorts. "If we don't, as more and more women go to college, who the hell is going to take care of the children?"

Leaving aside for a moment the implication that women who want to have children should renounce serious intellectual pursuits, let us consider the question of who it is in this society who has really ignored and discounted the needs of children for education and proper care. It is not the women's liberation movement.

The only requirement in capitalist society for taking on the responsibility of



Ruthann Miller

caring for infants and children is the distinction of having a uterus. Under this system, children are at the complete mercy of whatever parents they happen to be born to, regardless of their ability (or desire) to raise them.

The care of babies and small children is solely the responsibility of each competitive, isolated family. Each father and mother is expected to provide for and be concerned about "their" children only, regardless of whether society provides the jobs or financial assistance necessary to do this. Some children starve, while others get the best food, clothing and education available. Untold numbers of small children are left completely unattended each day because their mothers have to work and no nurseries are available.

What the women's liberation movement is saying is that the job of caring for children is so important to society as a whole that the total resources of the country should be made available to all children, that each child should not have to depend on the limited resources of isolated families, of individual women. We say that we, not Dr. Spock, are fighting for the right of children to the best care as part of our struggle for the right of women to full lives as human beings.

In the wealthiest country in the world, there is now little recognition of the rights of children. There is no serious consideration, for example, of the vast body of accumulated knowledge which shows the need for children to come into contact with many different adult male and female models. There is no consideration of the widespread psychological damage done to children as a result of their complete dependence on one or two individual, often neurotic, adults. (Being shut up in the house all day, forced to concentrate on boring, repetitive household chores, is often enough in itself to cause a mother severe psychological damage.)

In Israel, the Soviet Union and Cuba, which have experimented with raising children communally, and in similar experiments in this country, children have been shown to thrive in such an atmosphere. Dr. Spock admits these experiments have worked out well. But, he says, "taking care of other people's children is considered responsible and respectable there—but not in the United States."

In the USSR and Cuba, the modest advances in communal child care have come as a result of the abolition of capitalism and the need to involve the maximum number of the population, including women, in the productive process. In capitalist Israel, the socialized child-rearing programs have been as-

sociated with the cooperative farming which exists in some areas.

But, in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries, women workers are a distinctly marginal part of the labor force, and the capitalist rulers see little need for the development of facilities which would provide freedom for the mother and care for children. New York, the richest city in the richest country in the world, has less nursery facilities than tiny, underdeveloped Cuba.

When social and economic priorities are determined by the profit system, as in the U.S., it is not surprising that, as Dr. Spock puts it, "taking care of other people's children" is not considered "respectable." It is to the advantage of the employers to keep the mothers in the home. This not only relieves them of any financial responsibility for child care and other facilities for children, but it provides the rationale for maintaining women as a reserve labor pool, paid less and hired and fired according to the needs of the employers.

Similarly, the needs of women are subordinated by Spock to the needs of capitalism: "What I say is that children are going to have to be reared, and you ought to have women growing up to feel this is important, womanly work." In order to do this, he says we must seek out the flaw in the educational system which is allowing women to think of themselves as other than mothers. History courses should "emphasize Napoleon's mother, as well as Napoleon" and we should endeavor to make motherhood more appealing.

This is precisely what the education system does now. The reason women are rebelling now is not due to a breakdown in educating women in their role, but rather it is a product of the general radicalization in this country which has awakened women to their economic, cultural and social oppression. This radicalization is questioning all the basic institutions of this society which subordinate human needs to the needs of capitalism.

It is significant that at the very time he is criticizing the efforts of women to overcome their oppression, Dr. Spock has been actively involved in building the antiwar movement and other movements which champion the right of Vietnamese, Black and Third World peoples to self-determination. What he and others in the movement must learn is that women are no different from other oppressed groups in this respect. It is we who must determine for ourselves what our identity is, what our goals and needs are as human beings. It is women who are in the best position to know concretely how the present family system has stultified our lives, and who must take the lead in the struggle to build an alternative to it.

BELOW OLYMPUS By Interlandi



"Here's my forecast for the 70's: A female revolt against male domination in politics — like 'Progress Together or Not at All!'"

4 GIs face jail for initiating war crimes investigation

By BILL MORAN

FT. GORDON, Ga., Feb. 2 — The Army brass is attempting to railroad and silence four GIs for their initiative in investigating American war crimes in Vietnam. The four issued a leaflet Jan. 12 announcing formation of a "GI war crimes commission."

Pvt. Larry Czaplyski of New York, Pvt. Timothy Johnson of Minnesota, Pvt. Richard Horner of Tennessee, and Pvt. Terry Kline of Maryland are charged with illegal distribution by leaflet and over the airwaves and making disloyal statements. Kline is confined to his company area, and the other three are being held in the Ft. Gordon stockade.

Their leaflets stated that the purpose of the commission would be:

- "to dispel the myth that the American soldier is more moral than his enemy counterpart;

- "to show the American people what their sons are capable of, and by doing this to try to arouse in them an antiwar and antimilitaristic response;

- "to get across the facts that Songmy wasn't an isolated incident and that the genocide against the Vietnamese people by the U.S. armed forces is an everyday occurrence.

- "to get more GIs actively involved in the antiwar movement."

The leaflet also states that information received by the commission would be screened and attempts would be made to cross-check all reports. Information would then be sent to the War

Crimes Tribunal in Paris. Material would also be sent to members of Congress for use in investigations and well-documented reports would be released to the press.

The three imprisoned GIs had all applied for conscientious objector status long before the incident but received no response. However, they were heavily harassed for applying for CO status.

Pvt. Kline told this reporter that less news about the case gets through to the local Augusta, Ga., papers than it does to other newspapers around the country. Pvt. Kline said, however, "There is a deep feeling of resentment among many GIs at Ft. Gordon."

A GIs United Against the War in Vietnam was established at Ft. Gordon in response to the arrests and this organization "plans to launch a defense campaign for the four among GIs at the base," according to Pvt. Dan Dukes, an organizer of the GIs United chapter. Publicity on the case has been handled by the Southern Conference Educational Fund of Louisville, Ky.

Kline indicated that the leaflet had already received replies from GIs at other posts, giving evidence of American war crimes in Vietnam. The war crimes commission will continue to collect evidence of war crimes even though the four are not able to handle it themselves. Information and funds should be sent to P.O. Box 2994, Hill Station, Augusta, Ga. 30904.